



Politics 2008
The GOP Race:
Still Up for Grabs

Bank of America:
Can It Fix Your
Broken Mortgage?



The Doom Boom:
Pop Culture Goes
Apocalyptic

TIME



GULP! I THINK
WE'VE GOT
CHEMISTRY!

I FEEL MY
EVOLUTIONARY
BIOLOGY
KICKING IN!

ANNUAL
MIND & BODY
SPECIAL ISSUE

The Science of Romance

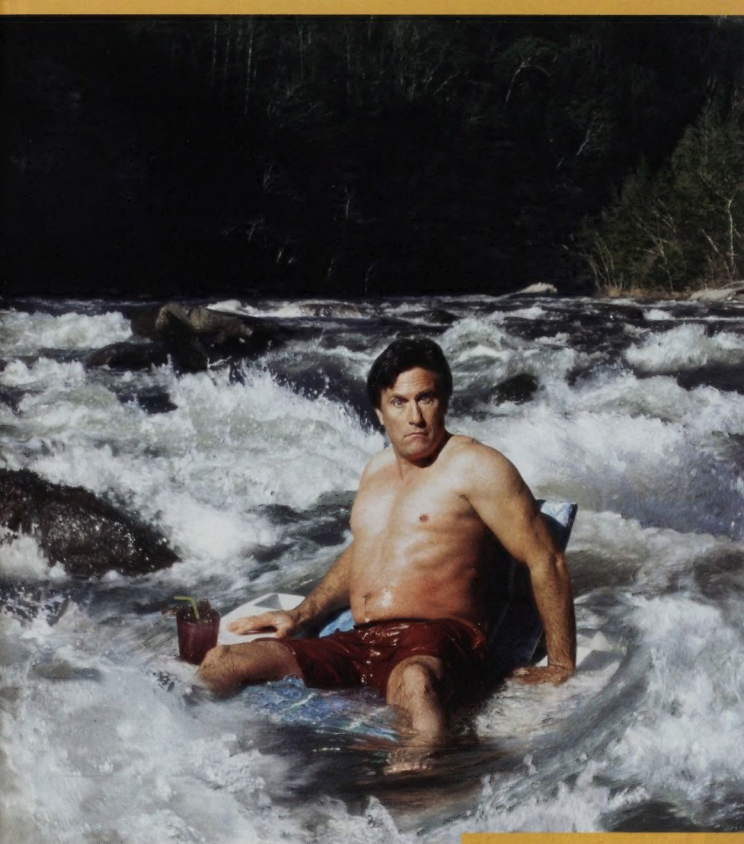
Why we need love to survive

NOT BEING PREPARED FOR RETIREMENT DOESN'T MAKE MUCH SENSE EITHER.



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SIEMENS

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To Our Readers

Mind/Body Issue. Romance makes us giddy—or flat-out crazy. Our science team breaks down the chemical, sociological and evolutionary reasons

SCIENCE HAPPENS EVERY DAY. LONG before there was politics or economics or global affairs, science ran the show. In-depth science coverage is part of the DNA of TIME, and we've been at it a while, starting with our cover story on physician and Nobel laureate Sir Frederick Grant Banting, in our Aug. 27, 1923, issue, in the first year of the magazine's existence.

In the decades since, we've put writing and reporting about science at the heart of our editorial mission, bringing generations of readers news on such sweeping stories as the hunt for a polio vaccine, the race to the moon, the study of human origins, the battle against AIDS, the birth of the environmental movement and the crisis of global warming. In the past year, we've frequently looked at science through the increasingly revealing lens of evolutionary biology, exploring what makes us good and evil, the secrets of birth order and why we always seem to worry about the wrong things.

This week's cover package, the Science of Romance, our annual Mind/Body special section, continues that tradition of digging into complicated areas that reveal not only rich science but science that relates to our readers in meaningful ways. The main story was written and the entire package was edited by TIME science editor Jeffrey Kluger. Co-author of *Apollo*

In-depth coverage of science is part of the DNA of TIME, and we've been at it a while

13 (which served as the basis for the 1995 movie) and the author of five other books, including the upcoming *Simplicity*, about the beautiful simplicity and complexity of everything around us, Kluger has been with TIME for 12 years and has written more than two dozen cover stories.

The team that produced this package includes writers, reporters and editors Carolyn Sayre, Tiffany Sharples, Kate Stinchfield, Lisa Takeuchi Cullen, Belinda Luscombe, John Cloud and



The minds behind Mind/Body From left, Chrissy Dunleavy, Crary Pullen, Kate Stinchfield, Carolyn Sayre and Tiffany Sharples surround science editor Jeffrey Kluger

Richard Corliss. The look of the package is the handiwork of associate art director Chrissy Dunleavy and photo editor Crary Pullen. Authors Carl Zimmer, Lori Oliwenstein and Steven Pinker also contributed stories.

In the year—and years—to come, science coverage will continue to be part of the core of what we do. Look for our Mind/Body issue every year around this time, as well as our annual environmental issue in the spring, our fitness issue in June and our year-in-medicine wrap-up in the fall. And, of course, whenever science happens—which is to say all the time—you can find it here and on TIME.com.



For the birds
Carl Zimmer writes a reductionist takedown of romance



Marital bliss
Lori Oliwenstein looks at the health benefits of commitment



Crazy in love
Steven Pinker examines why love makes us mad

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

10 Questions.

He's brilliant at portraying neurotics of all kinds. But the multit talented director, whose new movie is *Cassandra's Dream*, swears he's actually quite normal. **Woody Allen will now take your questions**

What is your favorite borough of New York City?

Leo Khokhlov

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA

Manhattan, because it was the glamour spot of my childhood. I grew up in Brooklyn, which is another great borough, but Manhattan [had] the jazz joints, most of the great movie houses and Central Park. The second I could move out of my parents' house, I moved to Manhattan and have lived here my whole life.

I understand that you are more of a musician than a singer.

But is there one song you like to belt out in the shower?

Rohit Sang, NEW YORK CITY

My rendition of *Easy to Love* by Cole Porter is as good as one could hear—in the shower. Outside of the shower, I start to have some problems.

You've worked with everyone. But has anyone ever said, "No thanks. I'll pass"?

Colette Harlowe

COUNTY MAYO, IRELAND

There is a myth that any actor will drop whatever they're doing and work with me. Nothing could be further from the truth. Actors have passed because the money was not enough or they didn't like the script or for personal reasons. [But] you could turn down my movies a dozen times, and if I have a part that's good for you, I'll always offer it to you and hope for the best.

Would you make another movie with Diane Keaton?

Craig Spring

PALM SPRINGS, CALIF.



Yes. If there were an idea for Keaton and me or I had an idea that would be great for her, she'd be the first person that I would call.

Which current directors do you admire?

Abigail Hoover, ST. PAUL, MINN.

Usually they are younger directors who are fighting to get good films made—not standard, formulaic Hollywood venal projects. I like [Paul Thomas Anderson] who

did *There Will Be Blood*. I liked him from his earlier movies. I like the films I've seen of Alexander Payne's.

In *Match Point*, you used a lot of opera. Do you personally enjoy opera?

Ian Kachemov, HIGHLAND, MD.

I do like opera. I'm going to direct a small opera this year. I used to go a lot, but [operas] go until 11:30 at night. I get up at 5:30 a.m. and get my exercise and ablutions done—some-

times my clarinet practice even before I go out to shoot. I just can't keep those late hours.

Will you do any more stand-up comedy albums in the future?

Igor Korenfeld, ST. LOUIS, MO.

I have no intention of doing that at the moment. The work is too hard. It's great to be able to address people directly and tell your jokes. [But it's] not so compelling that a person who's lazy—and I'm lazy—would go and do it again.

When did you notice that your films had become a pop-culture phenomenon—like "That's such Woody Allen dialogue"?

Brian O'Keeffe, SEATTLE

I've been making films since 1967, and I've never felt I've influenced anybody in any way. People make films like Scorsese makes them, like Spielberg makes them, like Stanley Kubrick made them. I never see young people that I've influenced either as a personality or as a filmmaker.

Has being neurotic in life done more good or more harm?

Yanni Kehagiaras

SAN FRANCISCO

I'm actually very normal. I have a wife now of 10 years. I have two kids who I'm very devoted to. I've portrayed a neurotic personality with such effectiveness that people think that I'm actually neurotic or learned or intellectual. [But] I'm a beer-drinking, television-watching, T-shirt jerk at home. Not someone ensconced in Kierkegaard and Spinoza.

Do you agree with Picasso's quote: "Good artists copy; great artists steal"?

Debbie Johnson

ROCHESTER, MICH.

Oh, I've stolen from the best. I've stolen from Bergman. I've stolen from Groucho, from Chaplin, from Keaton, from Martha Graham, from Fellini. I mean I'm a shameless thief.

To watch a video interview with Allen and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions



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Postcard: Managua. Forget civil war. The next big challenge here is how to get anywhere in a city without street names or addresses. Navigating the nameless roads of Nicaragua's capital

BY TIM ROGERS

A YEAR AFTER IRISH ROCKER BONO visited Nicaragua in 1986 to raise awareness about Central American war refugees, U2 released its smash-hit album *The Joshua Tree*, and Nicaraguans immediately recognized that one of the songs seemed to be written about their country. It wasn't, but 20 years later, most people here still hold as fact that *Where the Streets Have No Name* was written about Managua, a squat and sprawling capital city where, well, the streets are unnamed.

The Managua of today still has the feeling of a rural backwater that hopes one day to grow up to be a capital city. No building is taller than 10 stories. There are still more trees than buildings, and going "downtown" means going to the Metrocentro shopping mall.

Finding one's way around Nicaragua

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means developing an intimate understanding of the spatial relations between current and past landmarks, some of which were

destroyed more than 30 years ago, in the 1972 earthquake. The quake and the civil war between the *contras* and the Sandinistas disrupted, among other things, plans to number the streets. And so giving directions here is still, as former New York Times Managua bureau chief Stephen Kinzer described it, a "Socratic" technique, based on first determining what the direction asker knows, then working backward from there.

For example, if a foreigner asks, "How do you get to the Nicaraguan Tourism Institute?" the conversation might go like this:

"Well, do you know where Casa de los Mejía Godoy is?"

"No."

"Do you know where the former Lips strip club was?"

"No."



Mixed signals In Managua, residents find their way without official street names

"The Hotel Crowne Plaza, which used to be the Hotel Inter-Continental?"

"Bingo."

"From there, it's one block south, one block down."

One block "down," of course, is Managua code for "one block west." Sometimes going "down," then, actually means going uphill. To further confuse things, directions are given in a unit of measurement known as a *vara*, which is apparently

based on the arm length of a former nobleman from some time and some place in the distant past.

Even on the Caribbean coast, which was settled by the British rather than the Spanish, addresses are given in a unit of measurement known as a *vara*, which is apparently based on the arm length of a former nobleman from some time and some place in the distant past. Even on the Caribbean coast, which was settled by the British rather than the Spanish, addresses are given in a unit of measurement known as a *vara*, which is apparently based on the arm length of a former nobleman from some time and some place in the distant past.

The uncertainty isn't limited to Nicaragua. When I lived in Costa Rica, a friend in the U.S. asked for my mailing address. I jokingly gave the directions in Spanish as the locals would explain it: "From the Lourdes Church in Montes de Oca, two

blocks west, past the Pali supermarket, take a right at the next corner where an old woman sells fruit, past the Bar Maguey to the end of the dead-end street, where the gringos live. Costa Rica, Central America." His letter actually arrived.

Even when streets do have names, few know what they are. My girlfriend recently saw an official map of her hometown—Masaya, Nicaragua—and discovered that the street where she had grown up in fact has a name: Calle Palo Blanco. But if you tell a taxi driver "Calle Palo Blanco," all you will get is a blank stare. So we still give the more common address ("From the San Jeronimo Shell Station, 2½ blocks down"). And off we go without further question.

The lack of street names is a smaller crisis, though, than the lack of good roads. Potholes force cars and ox-drawn carts alike to ride on the shoulders of the country's highways and byways. President Daniel Ortega, eager to lift his country out of poverty by attracting foreign investment, recently pledged to "launch an offensive" on unpaved roads. Until that war is won, however, the Bono song that most comes to mind in Managua is *I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For*. ■



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Inbox



What She Left Behind

AS A PAKISTANI CANADIAN I READ WITH great interest your coverage of Benazir Bhutto and Pakistan [Jan. 14]. While I sincerely condole her untimely and fiery death, I must agree with William Dalrymple that her legacy was "mediocre." Far from being a martyr for freedom and democracy, she chose to live a life of luxury in self-imposed exile—in distant Dubai. Although she was Prime Minister of Pakistan twice, she did little to improve the conditions of the masses, particularly those of women and the poor.

Jalaluddin S. Hussain
BROSSARD, QUE.

BHUTTO'S RETURN TO PAKISTAN was regarded by many as the force needed to bring Pakistan back to the path of democracy. The sad truth is, there is nothing democratic about Pakistan's so-called democratic parties. Every election time, leaders assure us that they will make the changes they failed to carry out the last time they were in office. I think that Bhutto's assassination, though unfortunate, will probably bring more change to Pakistan's political process than a third tenure as Prime Minister would have.

Amna Mansur Khan, ATLANTA

'In a country ruled by inept, corrupt generals, Bhutto was an icon of defiance and courage. In death she has become larger than life.'

Mushtaq Ahmed, DYER, IND.

MAILBAG

Biggest mail getter:
Benazir Bhutto's assassination



Bhutto's death was tragic, but the U.S. can't save Pakistan



Bhutto is no martyr for democracy—her legacy is too flawed

BHUTTO'S ASSASSINATION HIGHLIGHTS once more the deep contradiction between the U.S.'s stated aim of advancing democracy around the world and our actual practice of backing friendly dictators like President Pervez Musharraf when we think it suits our interests. The Bush Administration will retreat to its codependent relationship with the dictator, regarding him as the only remaining bulwark against a Taliban-style fundamentalist theocracy armed with nukes, and probably flirt no further with notions of a truly democratic Pakistan. These chickens will one day come home to roost.

Mark C. Eades
OAKLAND, CALIF.

I JUST COULDN'T BELIEVE THAT the cover read, "Why We Need to Save Pakistan." Haven't our ex-

periences in Iraq and Afghanistan proved that our presence has accomplished little or nothing, made more enemies throughout the world and cost trillions of dollars? It's about time we stopped sacrificing American lives for impossible causes.

Ed Jacobson, WHITING, VT.

BHUTTO, LIKE HER FATHER, CONNECTED with Pakistan's downtrodden masses. She



A controversial life cut short To some, Bhutto was a face of hope for Pakistan. She has now become a symbol of that nation's fears, frustrations and infighting as well

EXECUTION ADVICE

The recent challenges to the three-drug cocktail used in most U.S. executions reminded me that I have never

LETTER FROM A VET

understood what the technical problem is with humanely euthanizing a person [Jan. 14].

After practicing veterinary medicine for more than 35 years and putting down more horses, dogs and cows than I care to think about, I remember only one bad experience. It lasted only 15 sec., and the problem was more because of the owner's attitude than the medical procedure. Why doesn't the Supreme Court just call up the local vet and ask him or her how to do it? It's easy. People should quit making it so complicated. But of course that is the American way.

David R. Smith, D.V.M.
RAVENSDALE, WASH.

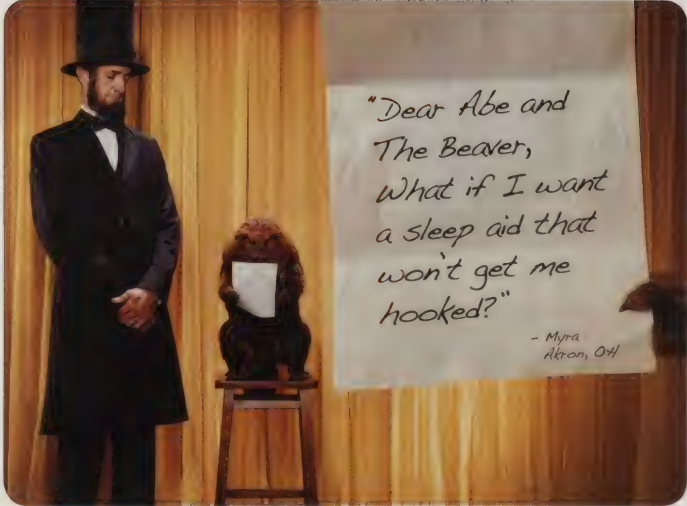
represented the hopes and aspirations of the country's poor and disenfranchised. For millions of her followers, her inability to deliver really did not matter. In a country ruled by inept, corrupt generals, Bhutto was an icon of defiance and courage. In death she has become larger than life. Her indefatigable struggle for democracy and willingness to take the obvious risks overrode much of the paradox that is implied in the article. Seemingly fragile yet politically astute and daring, Bhutto will continue to be a potent force in Pakistan's troubled political landscape.

Mushtaq Ahmed, DYER, IND.

PAKISTAN NEEDS MUSHARRAF'S STRONG leadership to weather the political backlash as Bhutto supporters try to link him to a supposed plot to kill her. Accusing him of plotting Bhutto's death is wrong. Cars have been burned, and Musharraf symbols have been destroyed out of hatred and anger. Martial law might be needed to prevent total chaos in the nation. Extremists must not be allowed to win the day upon the body of Bhutto.

Crystal Ducker, FARGO, N.D.

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Inbox

The Many Sides of Mitt

RE JOE KLEIN'S "A TALE OF TWO ROMNEYS": It sounds like Mitt Romney has us all confused as to who the real Mitt is [Jan. 14]. As a Democrat-leaning independent, I was willing to overlook Romney's Republican ways because of what he accomplished in private business, with the Utah Olympics and as governor of Massachusetts. But his seesawing pegs him as a politician desperate for any and all votes. He's trying

KLEIN MADE ROMNEY OUT TO BE MORE dishonest and empty at his core than his rivals. All the candidates try to be all things—or at least most things—to all audiences. While Klein made some excellent observations, he failed to back up his assertion that Romney's campaign is uniquely deceptive. With "A Tale of Two Romneys," we got the best and the worst of Klein.

Bruce Rider, GRAPEVINE, TEXAS

Ethical Executions?

IF SOCIETY WANTS AND NEEDS CAPITAL punishment, executions should be as painless as cataract surgery or baptism [Jan. 14]. Hanging, electrocution, firing squad and lethal injection all have aspects that are cruel to both criminals and those responsible for carrying out the execution.

Russell Crom, MOUNT PROSPECT, ILL.

only ones who benefit from it. Attacking the use of the chemical solutions is just one more excuse to end the death penalty. We need the death penalty to protect our policemen and the most vulnerable in our society.

Allan Gillingham, GILBERT, ARIZ.

I WAS SURPRISED THAT THERE WAS NO mention of the many people who have been sentenced to death but proved innocent later. Some were exonerated and spared the death penalty, but many were not. I don't believe you would find a penal system that is any better than that in the U.S., but it is still far from perfect. The death penalty does not keep people from committing murder, and your article showed that it doesn't cost less than life imprisonment. It should be abolished.

Sherry Weaver, ELKHART, IND.

'While so many TV shows are empty-headed and shallow, *The Wire's* complex characters and plots force viewers to think about U.S. society.'

Jenny C. McGrath

NORTH BRUNSWICK, N.J.

to be what most marketers learned long ago doesn't exist: a product that satisfies all the people all the time. Romney would be better off expressing his convictions and having people's respect, if not their 100% agreement.

Rosemary Rokita, HARRIETTA, MICH.

SHOULD TIMOTHY MCVEIGH BE SITTING IN a prison cell watching TV for killing 168 people and injuring 850 in Oklahoma City? No, he deserved to die. People want to fix what isn't broken and not fix what is broken. What is broken is the justice system that allows appeals to go on from 10 to 30 years. It is a system devised by lawyers, the

Hooked on *The Wire*

THANK YOU FOR JAMES PONIEWOZIK'S article on HBO's *The Wire* [Jan. 14]. As a loyal fan of the TV show since the first season, I am so pleased to see it receiving its due credit. As other, less deserving shows collect all the accolades, *The Wire* consistently delivers brilliant writing and an insight

Turn
Commercial
breaks
into dance
breaks

Inbox

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ The Jan. 14 story on companies that let parents bring their babies to work erroneously reported that Kansas governor Kathleen Sebelius had earlier worked as an attorney. Although she had served as executive director of the Trial Lawyers Association, she was not an attorney.

■ A Jan. 14 Verbatim item incorrectly stated that the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) is arguing in a lawsuit that it was illegal for a man to copy legally purchased music onto his computer. The RIAA is in fact arguing that the man illegally put the music in shared folders on his computer for distribution on a peer-to-peer network.

ful look into race, class and politics in urban America. While so many TV shows are empty-headed and shallow, *The Wire*'s complex characters and plots force viewers to think about U.S. society. Perhaps this is why this show isn't as popular as it deserves to be.

Jenny C. McGrath
NORTH BRUNSWICK, N.J.

Merit vs. Mediocrity

RICHARD CORLISS'S RECENT SUGGESTIONS in "How to Save the Awards Shows" were shameful [Jan. 14]. Any intelligent film reviewer knows that the best films and the most popular flicks are usually light-years apart in quality. Are the Academy Awards about honoring good filmmaking, or are they about trolling for viewers for the telecast? Shouldn't everyone be more concerned that the better films of the year get the attention they deserve?

Stephen J. Miller, ORLANDO, FLA.

IF THE OSCARS CAN BE FAULTED FOR ANYTHING, it's not for nominating obscure movies. Perhaps at its inception, popular films had the greatest artistic merit. But in a year in which intellectually devoid, flashy

crowd pleasers (like *300* and *Transformers*) and crude, idiotic, supposed comedies (like *Wild Hogs* and *Rush Hour 3*) were among the highest-grossing films, how can Corliss justify suggesting that the awards go to more popular films? Discounting *Ratatouille*, you have to scroll way down the rankings to find anything that warrants consideration—like *Charlie Wilson's War*, *No Country for Old Men* and *Juno*. Money-making could be considered an art and a science, but I doubt that's what is meant by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

Christopher Bruno, RAHWAY, N.J.

THE AUDIENCE-FRIENDLY AWARDS SHOW that Corliss fantasizes about already exists. It's called the People's Choice Awards.

Dewey Webb, PHOENIX

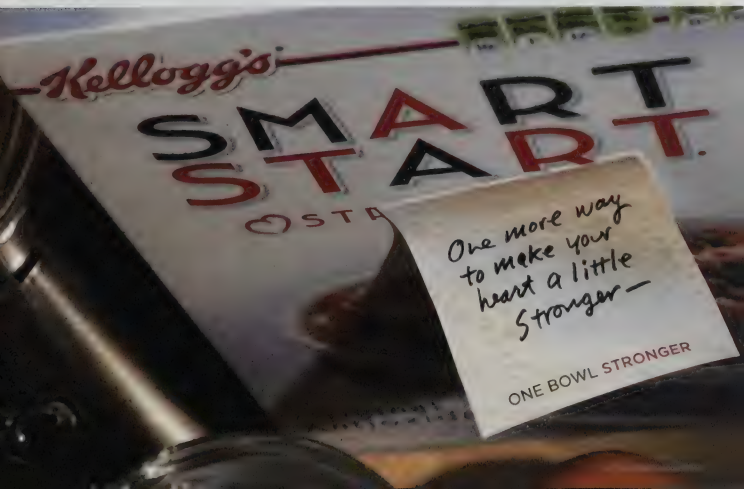
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- CLAYTON COLLINS, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"In-ear headphones from Bose deliver amazing sound while providing a supremely comfortable fit...robust, realistic audio while resting unnoticeably in the ear..."

- GRAHAM REED, NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

"...sound quality that's extremely well-balanced and natural-sounding from bottom instrumental notes to top..."

- JONATHAN TAKIFF, PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS

"The Bose in-ear phones deliver great bass...very natural bass, not the boomy kind. The rest of the sound spectrum is smooth and even."

- RICH WARREN, NEWS-GAZETTE

"Sonically, the music is spacious and highly detailed..."

- STEPHEN WILLIAMS, NEWSDAY

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"You will explode in a few minutes."—RADIO MESSAGE OF DISPUTED ORIGIN RECEIVED BY U.S. WARSHIPS IN THE PERSIAN GULF

Briefing

THE MOMENT



Strange Peace. Why Bush's Middle East mission included arms deals and tough talk

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES all talk about the need for change as if George W. Bush were a flat tire or a dirty diaper, but his Middle East trip last week was a reminder that he's still the Commander in Chief, that the lame duck has one more year to quack.

Bush clung to his ambitious vision of peace and democracy in the Persian Gulf while assuaging the House of Saud with a \$20 billion arms deal. He reaffirmed his devotion to the Iraq war and sent Condoleezza Rice on another "unannounced

visit" to Baghdad—as if she could make any other kind. And he issued more warnings to Iran after U.S. warships were threatened in the Strait of Hormuz. "They'd better be careful and not be provocative," Bush said.

So much for careful versus provocative. The menacing audio in the naval incident apparently came not from Iranian boats but from a radio heckler known as the Filipino Monkey—one or more pranksters who have been jabbering over the Persian Gulf maritime channels for decades

and who nearly became the first nobodies to start a world war since 19-year-old Gavrilo Princip shot Archduke Ferdinand in 1914. Critics said the standoff in the strait illustrated how a single provocateur can exploit global tensions and spark an international crisis. And they weren't think

In Saudi Arabia, Bush's approval ratings are lower than bin Laden's

ing of the Filipino Monkey.

After all, this wasn't the first time Bush had jumped to a wrong conclusion in the Middle East. Now his coalition of the willing is dwindling, oil prices are soaring, and the

Arab street is angrier than ever. Bush's approval ratings are lower than Osama bin Laden's in Saudi Arabia.

But Bush remains determined to transform the Middle East, where the success of his presidency will be judged by history. That means holding tough in Iraq, whose Defense Minister now says U.S. troops will be needed until 2018, and staying tough with Iran. The CIA has downplayed the Iranian threat, but Bush pointedly distanced himself from that assessment in Abu Dhabi, calling on the world to "confront this danger before it's too late."

By Bush's calendar, that means before 2009. Because change is on the way.

—BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD ■



BEIRUT
Explosion targeting U.S. embassy car kills four



WASHINGTON
Protests mark Guantánamo Bay anniversary



CARACAS
Hostages held by Colombian rebels set free

Washington Memo Status Quo Congress

DEMOCRATS CHARGED ONTO CAPITOL HILL A year ago ready to change the world, or at least America, only to run into President Bush's veto



pen and the Republican filibuster machine in the Senate. After humiliating legislative losses (particularly on Iraq) and approval ratings that make Bush look like the prom king, you would think the congressional Demo-

crats and their ringleader, House Speaker **Nancy Pelosi**, would be eager to make some changes. But they're miles ahead in fund-raising nationally, and most surveys that test votes for Congress have the Dems beating GOP candidates. What's more, the media are focused on November's presidential contest, so there's little incentive to get much done in Washington these days. This could be "the most unproductive session of Congress in many, many years," laments Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution.

But with the economy gone subprime and Americans clamoring for action, both parties agree on the need for some combination of spending and tax cuts designed to goose growth. Bush is expected to unveil his strategy, likely to include his perennial aim of making the 2001 and 2003 income-tax cuts permanent, in his Jan. 28 State of the Union address. Democrats, meanwhile, are building their own proposals around a tax refund for the middle class.

Even if the President and both parties in Congress try to hammer out a compromise package, there are still three Senators among the major presidential contenders—Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and John McCain—whose competing agendas could spawn more gridlock. "Suddenly you have an issue that both sides agree is terribly important," Hess says. "It's not impossible to solve. So the question is, Will they?" If past is prelude, don't bet on it.

—BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL ■

ENVIROTECH

Green Machines

Detroit's annual Auto Show displays the best and brightest prototypes for eco-friendly cars Jan. 19-27. A look at some of the top innovators from the U.S. and abroad.



TOYOTA A-BAT
Utilizes solar panels



SAAB 9-4X BIOPOWER
Runs on biofuels



FISKER HYBRID
First true electric plug-in car



JEEP RENEGADE
Gets up to 110 m.p.g.



MERCEDES-BENZ VISION GLK
Powered by a diesel engine



LAND ROVER LRX
2-L turbodiesel

EXPLAINER

Is Cloned Meat Safe to Eat?

After years of study, the Food and Drug Administration on Jan. 15 announced its conclusion that meat and milk from most cloned livestock are as safe for humans as those from noncloned animals.



HOW ARE THEY CLONED?
An animal's genetic duplicate is produced through somatic nuclear transfer, in which an egg cell is emptied of its genetic material and filled with a regular cell nucleus from a donor—a clone is born.



KABUL
Videoconferencing with U.S. detainees



TAIPEI
Opposition Nationalist Party scores landslide win



GANGASAGAR, INDIA
Hindus celebrate Makar Sankranti at the Ganges

LEXICON

presumed consent

DEFINITION 'pri-zoom'd kensent', n. A government policy under which a person's consent to donate organs after death is automatically presumed unless the person explicitly opts out. The policy removes the need for organ-donor cards or even family approval.

CONTEXT On Jan. 13, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown announced his support for the policy, saying it would reduce the number of deaths of those waiting for transplants. Nations such as Spain and France have adopted similar rules.

USAGE Could the policy ever fly in the U.S.? It might, after all, be a lifeline for the 97,000 waiting for organs. Probably not, says the University of Oklahoma's Dr. Mark Fox. "Since people have the opportunity to opt out, it seems like it's consistent with freedom of choice," Fox says. "But to force someone to say, 'I don't want to be an organ donor' is potentially coercive."

LEGAL NOTE

When the Dead Testify

On Jan. 7, Julie Jensen testified in her husband's murder trial—even though she died in 1998. Mark Jensen is charged with having murdered her, but attorneys have only now been able to introduce key evidence from Julie—a letter she left with a neighbor about Mark's "suspicious behaviors" and her "fear for [her] early demise."

WHY NOW U.S. law has zealously guarded the right of criminal defendants to confront their accusers in court. But new evidence rules adopted by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2004 and by Wisconsin's Supreme Court in 2006 are allowing Julie Jensen—and perhaps other, future murder victims—to take the stand from beyond the grave.

TECH NOTE

Framed by Facebook?



Using Facebook photos as evidence, police in South Burlington, Vt., have charged a high school

athlete with possession of alcohol—the second time in a year they used the website to make an underage bust. In June girls on the high school lacrosse team were rattled out by online pictures.

WHAT TO THINK The town's chief of police says his officers don't surf social-networking sites. In both cases parents first pointed out the photos. But sleuths are increasingly looking at online evidence. One Vermonter received a warrant from Pennsylvania police after posting photos of herself defacing a Quaker State monument.

World Spotlight
A Rare Iraqi Accord

COMMON GROUND HAS BEEN SO HARD TO FIND between Iraq's Shi'ites and Sunnis that the U.S. will take accord wherever it can. Hence the



strange sight of the White House applauding a new law that would help members of Saddam Hussein's outlawed Baath Party get jobs and benefits that the U.S. had stripped from them in 2003. On Jan. 12, lawmakers in Baghdad passed legisla-

tion that would give midlevel bureaucrats who worked for the former regime a shot at government jobs, and Baathist retirees with a clean record a chance to collect pensions.

Passage of the measure marked a rare effort by Iraq's political factions to ease tensions and drew praise from Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, who appeared in Baghdad Jan. 15. "There seems to be a spirit of cooperation," Rice said. But a telling reflection of Baghdad's continuing dysfunction came in the vote on the law: roughly half the parliament didn't show. Moreover, the government of Iraqi Prime Minister **Nouri al-Maliki** still faces a boycott by the country's largest Sunni bloc, the Accordance Front, and followers of Shi'ite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr.

So the act may address one of the Sunnis' key grievances, but will it really help bring the violently opposed sides closer together? Early signs are not good. Salim Abdullah al-Jubori, a parliamentarian and Accordance Front spokesman, said the issue of tens of thousands of Sunni prisoners held without trial remains a major division. "Unfortunately, we are not seeing any kind of flexibility from the government," he said. And right on cue, shortly after Rice left the Green Zone, a volley of mortars went flying in. No one was sure who fired them. —BY MARK KUKIS



WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?
The egg is inserted into a womb and gestated normally. Result: clones with the same tender meat or premium milk. Only their offspring are killed—the clones themselves are too expensive to eat.

ARE THEY REALLY SAFE?
The FDA thinks goats, cows and pigs will be safe. It doesn't yet have enough information yet on sheep. Some people are upset that clone-derived meat won't be labeled, keeping consumers in the dark.

ANY OTHER PROBLEMS?
Yes. The low success rate of cloning may mean that many deformed animals suffer and die young. And the prospect of losing genetic diversity in certain species adds a little more food for thought.



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The Page

DEPARTMENT OF FALSE MODESTY

Pick Me; I'm Perfect

Candidates' answers to the classic job-interview question "What's your biggest weakness?" in a Jan. 15 debate could have been uttered by *The Office*'s Michael Scott.

HILLARY CLINTON: "I get frustrated when people don't seem to understand that we can do so much more to help."

JOHN EDWARDS: "I sometimes have a very powerful emotional response to pain that I see around me."

BARACK OBAMA: "I ask my staff never to hand me paper until two seconds before I'll need it because I will lose it."

"I work too hard. I care too much. And sometimes I can be too invested in my job."



FRINGE CANDIDATES

The early primaries knocked out contenders like Dodd, Biden and Richardson. But for a few lesser knowns, the primaries are the perfect stage for their quixotic runs.



Richard (Mad Dog) Calliguri



Daniel Imperato



Albert Howard



Michael Skok

PARTY: Democrat
OCCUPATION: Runs a hamburger stand
ON IMMIGRATION: "[Forget] your poor, your wretched ... give us your tall blondes."

PARTY: Independent
OCCUPATION: Self-employed
ON BUSH: "He's taken [tips] off my website and used them for his benefit."

PARTY: Republican
OCCUPATION: Limousine driver
ON THE ECONOMY: "I would shut down the IRS and the Federal Reserve."

PARTY: Democrat
OCCUPATION: Former office worker
HIS GOALS: "I'm not happy with Hillary. I hope to give her a little challenge."

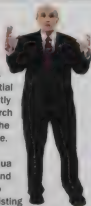
MORE AT TIME.COM

For Nathan Thornburgh's video report from the fringe campaigns, go to time.com/video

GOD-O-METER

Pray for Me

The Huckaboom has even the admittedly lax Catholic Rudy Giuliani getting churchy. In his first church visit as a presidential candidate, the ex-mayor recently spoke at the El Rey Jesus Church in Miami. Giuliani addressed the congregation, quoting Scripture. Calling his presidential bid a "test of faith," he invoked Joshua 10: 25: "Fear not, be strong, and of good courage." Giuliani also tried to connect spiritually, insisting



"I am not coming here to ask for your vote ... I am asking for your prayers." With a new poll showing the onetime GOP front runner in a four-way tie with Mike Huckabee, John McCain and Mitt Romney in Florida, he'll need both.



For daily God-o-meter readings covering all the presidential candidates, visit beliefnet.com

Campaign Insider. Mike Huckabee's campaign manager wears all the hats



Making his mark Saltsman—who met Huckabee on a duck hunt—is indispensable to the dark-horse candidate, performing the work of legions

IF HE HAD HIS WAY, CHIP SALTSMAN WOULDN'T shave much more than once a week, not even to go on television. He would wear his shirttails untucked with jeans and take time off whenever Linkin Park played a concert. Though he is the campaign manager for Mike Huckabee, a dry Baptist pastor, he would still stock bottles of Maker's Mark bourbon on the candidate's chartered flights.

But there are some sacrifices Saltsman, 39, must make to run Huckabee's upstart candidacy. Ever since the two met, on a duck hunt in late 2006, Saltsman has been doing the job of a dozen people. He sets national strategy, helps write the ads and raise the money, approves every expense—and even plays body man at events, clearing Huckabee's way through the crowd. Over the months, he has earned his boss's respect. "I would say he has been right virtually all the time," Huckabee says.

Before the duck hunt, Saltsman planned the aborted presidential effort of former majority leader Bill Frist. Before that, he ran the Tennessee Republican Party, overseeing the successful 2000 effort to deprive Al Gore of any home-state electoral votes. These days he deals with a whole new set of challenges. Hours before the Iowa caucuses, he helped talk down Huckabee, who wanted to bring his three dogs to New Hampshire, despite the airline's objections. "If it ever comes down to choosing between me and the dogs," Saltsman jokes, "I am done." —BY MICHAEL SCHERER

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

SECULARIST

THEOCRAT



Three reasons I'm *Singing* the praises of Viagra.

- It's America's most prescribed treatment for men with erectile dysfunction.
- It's giving me more satisfying sexual experiences with my partner.
- It helps me get and keep firmer erections.

Find your own reasons@viagra.com.

VIAGRA is prescribed to treat erectile dysfunction. We know that no medicine is for everyone. If you use nitrate drugs, often used for chest pain (known as angina), don't take VIAGRA. Taking these drugs together could cause your blood pressure to drop to an unsafe level. Talk with your doctor first. Make sure your heart is healthy enough to have sex. If you have chest pain, nausea, or other discomforts during sex, seek medical help right away.

Although erections lasting for more than four hours may occur rarely with all ED treatments in this drug class, to avoid long-term injuries, it is important to seek immediate medical help.

In rare instances, men taking PDE5 inhibitors (oral erectile dysfunction medicines, including VIAGRA) reported a sudden decrease or loss of vision. It is not possible to determine whether these events are related directly to these medicines or to other factors. If you experience sudden decrease or loss of vision, stop taking PDE5 inhibitors, including VIAGRA, and call a doctor right away.

Sudden decrease or loss of hearing has been rarely reported in people taking PDE5 inhibitors, including VIAGRA. It is not possible to determine whether these events are related directly to the PDE5 inhibitors or to other factors. If you experience a sudden decrease or loss of hearing, stop taking VIAGRA and call a doctor right away.

The most common side effects of VIAGRA are headache, facial flushing, and upset stomach. Less common are bluish or blurred vision, or being sensitive to light. These may occur for a brief time. Remember to protect yourself and your partner from sexually transmitted diseases.

Please see our patient summary of information for VIAGRA (25 mg, 50 mg, 100 mg) tablets on the following page or visit viagra.com for full prescribing information.

For free information, including questions to ask your doctor, call 1-888-4VIAGRA (1-888-484-2472).

Uninsured? Need help paying for Pfizer medicine? Pfizer has programs that can help. Call 1-866-706-2400 or visit www.PfizerHelpfulAnswers.com.



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IMPORTANT FACTS

VIAGRA
(sildenafil citrate) *tablets*

(vi-AG-rah)

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION ABOUT VIAGRA

Never take VIAGRA if you take any medicines with nitrates. This includes nitroglycerin. Your blood pressure could drop quickly. It could fall to an unsafe or life-threatening level.

ABOUT ERECTILE DYSFUNCTION (ED)

Erectile dysfunction means a man cannot get or keep an erection. Health problems, injury, or side effects of drugs may cause ED. The cause may not be known.

ABOUT VIAGRA

VIAGRA is used to treat ED in men. When you want to have sex, VIAGRA can help you get and keep an erection when you are sexually excited. You cannot get an erection just by taking the pill. Only your doctor can prescribe VIAGRA. VIAGRA does not cure ED.

VIAGRA does not protect you or your partner from STDs (sexually transmitted diseases) or HIV. You will need to use a condom.

VIAGRA is not a hormone or an aphrodisiac.

WHO IS VIAGRA FOR?

Who should take VIAGRA?

Men who have ED and whose heart is healthy enough for sex.

Who should NOT take VIAGRA?

- If you ever take medicines with nitrates:
 - Medicines that treat chest pain (angina), such as nitroglycerin or isosorbide mononitrate or dinitrate
- If you use some street drugs, such as "poppers" (amyl nitrate or nitrite)
- If you are allergic to anything in the VIAGRA tablet.

BEFORE YOU START VIAGRA

Tell your doctor if you have or ever had:

- Heart attack, abnormal heartbeats, or stroke
- Heart problems, such as heart failure, chest pain, or aortic valve narrowing
- Low or high blood pressure
- Severe vision loss
- An eye condition called retinitis pigmentosa
- Kidney or liver problems
- Blood problems, such as sickle cell anemia or leukemia
- A deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or an erection that lasted more than 4 hours
- Stomach ulcers or any kind of bleeding problems

Tell your doctor about all your medicines. Include over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal products. Tell your doctor if you take or use:

- Medicines called alpha-blockers to treat high blood pressure or prostate problems. Your blood pressure could suddenly get too low. You could get dizzy or faint. Your doctor may start you on a lower dose of VIAGRA.
- Medicines called protease inhibitors for HIV. Your doctor may prescribe a 25 mg dose. Your doctor may limit VIAGRA to 25 mg in a 48-hour period.
- Other methods to cause erections. These include pills, injections, implants, or pumps.

POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF VIAGRA

Side effects are mostly mild to moderate. They usually go away after a few hours. Some of these are more likely to happen with higher doses.

The most common side effects are:

- Headache
- Feeling flushed
- Upset stomach

Less common side effects are:

- Trouble telling blue and green apart or seeing a blue tinge on things
- Eyes being more sensitive to light
- Blurred vision

Rarely, a small number of men taking VIAGRA have reported these serious events:

- Having an erection that lasts more than 4 hours. If the erection is not treated right away, long-term loss of potency could occur.
- Sudden decrease or loss of sight in one or both eyes. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. They may be caused by conditions like high blood pressure or diabetes. If you have sudden vision changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Sudden decrease or loss of hearing. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. If you have sudden hearing changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Heart attack, stroke, irregular heartbeats, and death. We do not know whether these events are caused by VIAGRA or caused by other factors. Most of these happened in men who already had heart problems.

If you have any of these problems, stop VIAGRA. Call your doctor right away.

HOW TO TAKE VIAGRA

Do:

- Take VIAGRA only the way your doctor tells you. VIAGRA comes in 25 mg, 50 mg, and 100 mg tablets. Your doctor will tell you how much to take.
- If you are over 65 or have serious liver or kidney problems, your doctor may start you at the lowest dose (25 mg).
- Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you want to have sex. VIAGRA starts to work in about 30 minutes when you are sexually excited. VIAGRA lasts up to 4 hours.

Don't:

- Do not take VIAGRA more than once a day.
- Do not take more VIAGRA than your doctor tells you. If you think you need more VIAGRA, talk with your doctor.
- Do not start or stop any other medicines before checking with your doctor.

NEED MORE INFORMATION?

- This is only a summary of important information. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for complete product information OR
- Go to www.viagra.com or call (888) 4-VIAGRA (484-2472).



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VIGF Rev 3, 10/07

Verbatim

'Whether it's torture by anybody else's definition, for me it would be torture.'

MIKE MCCONNELL, director of national intelligence, on waterboarding. He said certain interrogation techniques saved "tons" of lives



'There was blood on the floor all the way to the kitchen. There was a lot of blood in the lobby. There were empty shell casings outside.'

SUZANNE GRIFFIN, a Seattle resident, on suicide attacks that killed six people in Kabul's upscale Serena Hotel on Jan. 14. Griffin was in the hotel gym's locker room when the violence broke out



'The heart is a beautiful organ, and it's not one that I thought I'd ever be able to build in a dish.'

DORIS A. TAYLOR, head of a University of Minnesota research team, on its ability to create a beating rat heart in the lab

'If Kofi Annan is coming, he is not coming at our invitation.'

JOHN MICHUKI, Kenyan government minister, rejecting international efforts to aid the country's electoral crisis



'I was drinking bourbon on the rocks. It was great. This huge cheer went up.'

GLENN CLOSE, after learning that she'd won a Golden Globe for Best Actress in a TV Drama, at a bar in New York City. The traditional ceremony was replaced with a speedy news conference because of the ongoing writers' strike

'We should not ask who will outdo whom.'

WEN JIABAO, Chinese Premier, on China and India's joint pledge to increase military ties and expand trade to \$60 billion by 2010



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Sources: Reuters, AP, New York Times, AFP, AP, BBC

NUMBERS

HEALTH CARE

110.2 million

Number of emergency-department (ED) patients in 2004, up from 93.4 million in 1994. The number of hospitals operating 24-hour EDs decreased 12% in that same period

150%

Increase from 1997 to 2004 in average wait time for treatment for ED heart-attack patients, according to a Cambridge Health Alliance study. In 1997, it was 8 min.; in 2004, 20 min.

DRUG USE

3.1 million

Number of people from age 12 to 25 who have used over-the-counter cough and cold medicines to get high

140

Number of nonprescription medications that contain the cough suppressant DXM, which in high doses acts as a dissociative hallucinogenic drug

ACCESSORIES

\$18,000

Cost of the new Kale Miles leather belt. The item's high price tag is due mainly to its nearly 8-oz. (0.25 kg) platinum buckle



3

Number of weeks it takes to make each buckle in a Boston workshop. Leather cutting and assembly are done by hand in Maine over the course of one week, with materials supplied by an English tannery

PATENTS

4.7%

Growth in the number of patent applications worldwide each year

800%

Increase in applications in mainland China from 1995 to 2005

Sources: Cambridge Health Alliance (2); MSNBC (1); New York magazine (1); AFP (1)

People

Q & A

Talking with John Mellencamp

The legendary—and sometimes controversial—rocker will be inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame this year.

You've been nominated for the Hall of Fame before. Does that mean something to you? Being from the Midwest, I've never really been part of the whole New York scene. But it's nice to be recognized. I guess the last 35 years weren't for nothing.

You're a big critic of the Iraq war. Are you still getting blowback from the songs you wrote about the Bush Administration? I get it all the time. "I'm not going to buy your records anymore." "Mellencamp is too left-wing for me."

Do you have a list in your back pocket of people you'd like to work with? Yeah. The one thing I really want to do is to get with Bob Dylan, and he and I would paint. He said, "Let's get together and paint" last time I saw him. That never happened. But it would be fun to learn something from Bob.

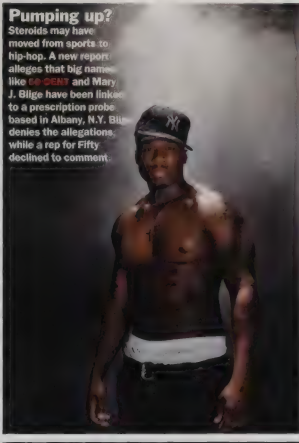
Have you seen the Dylan movie *I'm Not There*? I haven't. But my two heroes right now are Bob Dylan and the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama? Yeah. He held my hand for five minutes, man. It was weird. You're not supposed to touch him. I thought, Well, I kind of feel like his girlfriend.



Pumping up?

Steroids may have moved from sports to hip-hop. A new report alleges that big names like **50 CENT** and **Mary J. Blige** have been linked to a prescription probe based in Albany, N.Y. **Blige** denies the allegations, while a rep for **Fifty** declined to comment.



BABY BOOM

The new year has brought a bevy of celebrity newborns. A look at three first-time Hollywood moms



| THE STAR | CHRISTINA AGUILERA | NICOLE RICHIE | TONI COLLETTE |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| Baby name | Max Liron | Harlow Winter Kate | Sage Florence |
| Mom's pregnancy quirk | Waited to confirm her pregnancy but didn't hide bump | Donated all her baby-shower gifts to charity | Played a pregnant woman for three recent roles |
| Media coverage | Daily updates | Moderate to excessive | Minimal to none |

Teary-eyed T.O.

After the Dallas Cowboys lost to the New York Giants, some tried to blame quarterback Tony Romo and his recent escape to a Mexican resort with Jessica Simpson. But in a tearful plea, Cowboy **TERRELL OWENS**—not known for defending his QBs—said, "You guys can't point the finger at him... We lost as a team."



CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

Arrested. Oscar-winning Pulp Fiction writer **ROGER AVARY**, on suspicion of vehicular manslaughter and DUI, after a car crash injured his wife and killed another of his passengers

Jailed. **O.J. SIMPSON**, for an alleged bail violation

Denied. A request by **CECILIA SARKOZY** to bar a book quoting her as calling her ex-husband, French President Nicolas Sarkozy, a womanizer and bad father

Reconciled. **ELISABETH HASSELBECK** and **ROSIE O'DONNELL**, who had argued bitterly over Iraq on *The View*

Purchased. A **SUPERBOWL AD**, by Victoria's Secret, for the first time since 1999



VIRAL VIDEO

Cruise speaks

First the controversial new **TOM CRUISE** biography came out. Now something else Scientologists didn't want: a 2004 video of a very amped Cruise raving about his faith has hit the Web. Laughing, confiding, chiding, Cruise says at one point that being a Scientologist is "rough-and-tumble, and it's wild and woolly, and it's a blast."

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Milestones

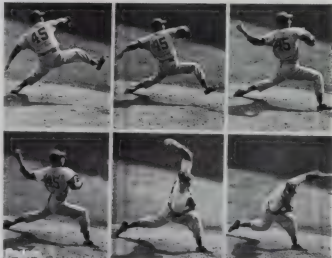
DIED THE SOUTHERNER made a splash as a 12-year-old in 1994, as a tough kid who witnessed a mob-related suicide in *The Client* opposite Susan Sarandon and Tommy Lee Jones. That mature, soulful performance was, sadly, the peak of actor **Brad Renfro's** career. Though he went on to roles in *Sleepers* and *Ghost World*, he was battling drug addiction and in 2006 spent 10 days in jail for drunk driving and attempted heroin possession. His death is under investigation. He was 25.

■ **WILL FERRELL'S COCKY**, bimbo-loving character Chazz (an "ice-devouring tornado of sex") in the figure-skating spoof *Blades of Glory* would have found a soulmate in **Christopher Bowman**, a star of the sport in the 1980s and '90s. "Bowman the Showman," a former child actor, improvised routines at the last minute, winked at the cameras and flirted with female fans. He won the men's nationals in 1989 and '92, but his fights with coaches and off-rink habits—drinking, cocaine, women—began to overshadow his talent. At the time

of his death from unknown causes in a Los Angeles hotel room, Bowman weighed more than 260 lbs. (118 kg) and was said to be depressed over the end of his marriage. He was 40.

■ **HE WAS GASTRONOMIC ROYALTY**. As the elegant, unflappable owner of the venerated Paris eatery Taillevent, **Jean-Claude Vrinat** was pleasantly old-fashioned. The food, while superb, was not trendy; unlike his peers, Vrinat and his chefs stayed out of the lime-light. But the perfectionist Vrinat made the kings, film idols and awe-struck tourists who ate there welcome, remembering names and hometowns, even opening taxi doors. Once, after Salvador Dalí had dined with his cat, the tactful and kind Vrinat offered, "Perhaps next time it would be best if your friend didn't come. I had the sense he didn't particularly enjoy himself." Vrinat was 71 and had lung cancer.

■ **IN 1971, WHEN HIS FINDINGS** were published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, cancer researcher **Judah**



Folkman's peers dismissed his idea that cancer tumors were dependent on a growing network of blood vessels. The now widely accepted theory that blocking angiogenesis, or vessel growth, will inhibit tumors has led to a dedicated field of research and at least 10 drugs currently on the market. Folkman was 74 and died of an apparent heart attack.

■ **CHICAGO HAS ITS LOVABLE** losers the Cubs. Brooklyn, in the 1950s, had its Dodgers. The team reached the World Series five times from 1941 to '53 but always lost to the Yankees, hence their slogan: Wait 'til next year. That changed in 1955, when pitcher **Johnny Podres**, an unknown on a team that included Jackie Robinson and Pee Wee Reese, took Brooklyn to its first and only

World Series win. By holding off the Yankees with his fastball and signature change-up, Podres earned the nickname "Mr. Clutch" and won the first ever World Series Most Valuable Player. He was 75.

■ **BEFORE ELVIRA, BEFORE** Morticia Addams, there was **Malla Nurmi**, the pioneering queen of sexy, spooky goth. She developed a following as Vampira, host of a short-lived namesake weekly 1954 TV show in which she introduced horror movies. Nurmi, who had a cameo in the classic Ed Wood film *Plan 9 from Outer Space*, faded from view, earning money by selling handmade jewelry. In 1989 she lost a \$10 million lawsuit alleging that actress Cassandra Peterson, appearing as Elvira, had pirated her character. Nurmi was 85.

APPRECIATION

The Man Who Stood on Top of the World

For one who had reached such a lofty height, he was a strange mix of confidence and modesty. A beekeeper from New Zealand, **Sir Edmund Hillary** was an aggressive amateur mountaineer drawn, he said, by the appeal of "grinding [competitors] into the ground on a big hill." Yet after accomplishing one of the 20th century's defining feats—his conquest, with Nepalese Sherpa Tenzing Norgay, of Mount Everest on May 29, 1953—he channeled the attention and knighthood that followed toward aiding the Nepalese Sherpas, who had so often helped him. Raising funds through his Himalayan Trust, a project he continued until his death, Hillary (far right, with Tenzing) helped install pipes and bridges and built 30 schools, two hospitals, 12 medical clinics and more. The arduous work didn't faze him. In 1996 he told *TIME*, "I would like to see myself not going [to Nepal] quite so often. But at the moment ... the responsibility is there. It has to be done." He was 88. —BY SIMON ROBINSON





Joe

Klein

The Gladiator Problem. McCain has staked his career on talking straight. But this year voters want details too

"TONIGHT IS A VICTORY OF OPTIMISM over Washington-style pessimism," Mitt Romney said after winning the primary in Michigan, the state where he was born and where his father governed. This was, as is Romney's wont, distillate of hokum. The former Massachusetts governor remains the most pessimistic of candidates, always assuming the worst about the public—and never taking a difficult position or telling a hard truth. In Michigan, he suddenly opposed higher fuel-efficiency standards for cars, included in the recent energy bill signed by the President. He also chided John McCain for telling the hard truth that some of the blue-collar auto industry jobs "won't be coming back."

As for McCain, he is quite the opposite of a Washington-style pessimist. He is, if anything, too optimistic about the public's ability to accept bad news. There is a political law that governs this sort of thing: If you're going to tell people something they don't want to hear, you've got to make a convincing counteroffer.

Bill Clinton was a master at this, especially in 1992, when he would go to Michigan union halls selling free trade to the protectionist United Auto Workers. In fact, Clinton was the first presidential candidate to say, "Some of these jobs won't be coming back." But Clinton's counteroffer was a winner for two reasons. First, he included a breathless wonkfest of concrete programs to goose the economy and provide for displaced workers. More important, he convinced his audiences that he was obsessed with fixing the economy, that it was his No. 1 priority.

There is a political law that governs this sort of thing: If you're going to tell people something they don't want to hear, you've got to make a convincing counteroffer

McCain has none of that going for him. The economy is not his thing. Traveling across Michigan in the days before the primary, McCain realized he had to talk about the looming recession—but he used it, more often than not, as a transition to the things he really cared about—cutting government spending and global warming. If the government weren't spending "\$233 million on a bridge to nowhere in Alaska," he would



say, the money could be used for retraining programs for displaced workers. If the government decided to limit carbon emissions and reduce our dependence on foreign oil, new technologies would create a wave of jobs for the auto industry.

While it's good to hear a Republican acknowledge these basic truths, McCain faces an essential conundrum: he is calling for government activism in a party that believes, as Ronald Reagan said, that "government is part of the problem." McCain, who vehemently opposes new taxes, is proposing a cap-and-trade program to reduce carbon emissions that will increase energy prices significantly.

But John McCain has never been about details. He has always been about a gladiatorial spectacle—the honest man in the arena, taking questions from all comers

with good humor, demonstrating his courage by the way he campaigns. There is something quite exhilarating about watching him strut his stuff. His utter independence is bracing, and his willingness to say "I don't know" is honest, often to a fault. You could almost sense his audiences arguing with themselves at his town meetings: "What a great American! ... But does he really think Washington politicians are going to stop pork-barrel spending? And why is he so soft on those illegal immigrants?"

The issue that McCain cares most about is Iraq. His I-told-you-so support for the troop surge, his admiration for David

Petraeus—McCain never fails to mention that Petraeus should have been *TIME's* Person of the Year—is the climax of every speech. This too is admirable, but also a bit half-baked. McCain's vision of the war is simple, binary: We are fighting al-Qaeda and, to a lesser extent, the Iranians. We are "succeeding," he says. "Al-Qaeda is on the run, but it is not defeated." But Iraq's future is complicated and has little to do with the Islamic terrorists, who are rapidly losing their stranglehold on the Sunni population. It has everything to do with whether the Shi'ites will accept the 8,000 newly armed Sunnis as part of a

unified security structure and also be able to resolve their own differences in places like Basra, where a three-way gang war is taking place; and whether the Kurds can accept the fact that Kirkuk can't be controlled by Kurdistan if Iraq is to survive.

Most of all, Iraq's future will be determined by an American decision. With the terrorist threat diminished, is it worth spending \$9 billion a month to referee the eternal Mesopotamian ethnic differences while the U.S. lapses into a second-world debtor economy, unable to invest in health care, education and high-tech infrastructure? Or is it time to scale back, in a prudent fashion, the U.S. commitment there? No doubt, this will annoy McCain enormously, but—like almost everything else in this campaign—the war in Iraq is about to become an economic issue. ■



Photograph for TIME by Danny Wilcox Frazier



Getting Back to Business

Jitters about the economy deliver a victory to Mitt Romney in Michigan. Why pocketbook issues will dominate the race ahead

BY MICHAEL DUFFY AND KAREN TUMULTY

UNTIL HE PULLED INTO HIS HOME state of Michigan, Willard Mitt Romney was the Frankenstein monster of the 2008 Republican sweepstakes. The former Massachusetts governor at times seemed less like a real person than a strange, inauthentic collection of market research, body parts and DNA that had been borrowed from past GOP campaigns and assembled in a lab by the party's mad scientists. Romney had the overpowering optimism of Ronald Reagan, the family values of Dan Quayle, the hair and handsome looks of Jack Kemp and the manners of George H.W. Bush. On paper, each piece of the Romney contraption was designed to appeal to a different part of the scattered GOP coalition. But the overall formula wasn't working as expected. Romney placed second in Iowa and New Hampshire, despite pouring millions of his own fortune into the race. His rivals among the other candidates neither liked nor respected him, and that dynamic was beginning to show up in televised debates. Michigan would be where he regained his footing—or just got buried.

Then, in just the latest in a string of unexpected developments in the GOP race, Romney found himself—after a fashion, anyway—and began to talk more naturally, like a candidate who knew why he was running, after all. He crisscrossed the state telling it's depressed electorate that the auto industry was not dead and could be revived with the help of government investment and eased federal standards for fleet fuel economy. He turned down the social-values music and amped up the optimism. Romney was aided in the gambit by rival John McCain, who was delivering a much grimmer message: the lost jobs were gone forever, and Michiganders needed to think harder about worker retraining. McCain—who had joked in New Hampshire that “the issue of economics is not something I’ve understood as well as I should.

Happy homecoming In the state where he was raised, Romney swept the Republican primary

I've got Greenspan's book"—seemed to have little feel for Michigan's pain or the forces that were driving it.

Given that choice, Michigan primary voters, who picked McCain over Bush in 2000, abandoned their hero in droves. The result was a decisive victory for Romney, who took 39% of the vote to McCain's 30%. (Former Arkansas governor Mike Huckabee won 16%.) "Tonight," Romney declared in Southfield on election night, "marks a victory of optimism over Washington-style pessimism."

Romney, attuned to the state's love-hate relationship with Washington, promised to protect Detroit from higher government fuel-efficiency standards. But in a move that may not play so well with small-government Republicans outside the state, he also suggested that the feds could be Detroit's savior, by bringing in billions in new federal investment. At a rally in Grand Rapids, Romney demanded to know, "How in the world can the Federal Government sit back and watch a state suffer year after year after year?"

Romney 3.0

WHAT HAPPENED IN MICHIGAN MAY BE a signal of how the presidential race unfolds in the months to come, first as each party picks its nominee and then as the two winners square off in November. The pocketbook is back in a big way on the presidential campaign trail, rocketing past the Iraq war to the top of voter concerns. "For every candidate in either party, this is the supermarket-checkout moment: Do you get it? Do you understand what people are going through?" says Bruce Reed, who ran the policy shop for Bill Clinton's It's-the-economy-stupid campaign in 1992. "Candidates who feel voters' pain and have a plan to deal with it will do well in this environment. And those who don't, won't."

Romney, the Harvard M.B.A. and long-time venture capitalist, has always been more comfortable talking about economics and solutions than social issues or foreign policy. With its punishing 7.4% unemployment and its automobile industry in a tailspin, Michigan was as friendly an environment as he was likely to find. It is one of only two states in the country that lost population last year, as job seekers fled elsewhere, and the only one in the country with a shrinking gross domestic product. Macomb County, whose swing voters were the original "Reagan Democrats," once led the state in housing starts; it now sets the pace for foreclosures in Michigan.

And then there were the candidate's boyhood roots. Romney grew up in opulent Bloomfield Hills, outside Detroit, at a time

Making Economic Change

Here's how the candidates say they will deal with the pocketbook issues that worry voters

Hillary Clinton

has a new stimulus plan that calls for \$30 billion to help reverse the housing crisis, \$25 billion in home-heating grants for the poor and \$10 billion to broaden unemployment

Barack Obama

would create a \$1,000-per-family tax credit while repealing the Bush tax cuts for those earning \$250,000 or more. He has proposed a credit-card bill of rights to hold down interest rates

John McCain

says some jobs "are not coming back." So he'd replace unemployment insurance with retraining programs. He'd repeal the alternative minimum tax. And he wants to ban pork projects

Mitt Romney

wants to encourage savings by eliminating taxes on capital gains and other unearned income for people making \$200,000 or less. He would make the Bush tax cuts permanent



Twist of fortune In 2000, Michigan Republicans voted for McCain, above right, with wife Cindy, over George W. Bush. This year Romney, above, won the state with 39% of the vote, compared with McCain's second-place 30%





John Edwards,
the staunchest populist
and protectionist, is
calling for what feels
like a 21st century
New Deal: \$25 billion
for green-energy public
works and safety-net
programs for people
losing jobs or homes

Mike Huckabee
focuses on the FairTax,
which would abolish
the IRS and replace all
federal income taxes
with a consumption
tariff. To stimulate
job growth and trade,
he would also dump
corporate taxes



when Michigan was one of the most prosperous states in the nation. His famously moderate Republican father George had been elected governor three times in the 1960s and had run against Richard Nixon for the GOP presidential nomination in 1968. Even after 40 years, the family name retained some brand value. At every stop he made in his Mitt Mobile (a souped-up RV), Romney drew on his memories of those days and reminded voters that if elected President, he would not "need a compass to tell me where Michigan is."

But for the normally stately Republicans, Romney's rebirth plunges the GOP race deeper into chaos. The party has now held three major contests in three weeks and each has produced a different winner. Though Romney leads in the delegate count, he is not well positioned in the next big primary, in South Carolina, where Huckabee and former Tennessee Senator Fred Thompson have grass-roots support.

After that, the race moves on to Florida, where Rudy Giuliani, who largely skipped the first three states, has parked himself for several weeks, is spending heavily from a war chest thought to be at least \$4 million and hopes to catapult ahead of his rivals with a win. Then comes the 21-state vote on Feb. 5, where some, but not all, of the states award their delegates on a proportional basis. Depending on who wins what, all that could prolong the search for a winner, raising the possibility that the party might enter its August convention with no candidate having captured a majority of the delegates.

Anxiety Attack

THE QUESTION ROMNEY FACES NOW is whether to stick to his new economic message as the race heads South—and whether it has any purchase outside of Michigan.

Knowing what to say to voters about the economy used to be an easy enough proposition for Republicans. "In the 1970s, it was inflation, and other than that, it's been jobs," says former Congressman Vin Weber, the Romney campaign's policy chairman. "Everybody learned their lines about the economy from a pretty simple script." So long as economic growth was somewhere north of 3%, unemployment under 5% and inflation contained at 3% or lower, Weber says, "we'd all look at them and say, 'That's all you need to know.'"

It's not that straightforward anymore. Voters see the larger forces at work. More and more economists are declaring the country to be on the verge of a recession, if not in one already, thanks to the collapse of the housing industry. There are trouble signs in just about every economic indica-

tor: tapped-out consumers spending less and unemployment and inflation creeping up. All this is layered on top of worries over rising health-care costs, oil prices that have the typical household spending \$1,300 more on gasoline a year than it did five years ago. Then there is the growing realization that globalization has given China and India some control over America's economic destiny, which means the future might feel uncertain even to voters who are doing just fine now.

But the precise nature of the economic anxiety that is keeping Americans awake at night can be very different, depending on who they are and where they live. Job losses are dragging down real estate prices in industrial-belt states like Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin. But the reverse is true in states like California, Florida and Nevada, where the collapse of a speculative real estate market is threatening jobs. In the Northeast, voters are more concerned about the impact of soaring energy prices

'This is the supermarket-checkout moment: Do you understand what people are going through?'

—BRUCE REED, DOMESTIC-POLICY ADVISER TO BILL CLINTON

on the cost of their home heating oil. That makes it harder for presidential candidates to wrap their arms around the issue, even as voters are demanding that they do. "It is one of those periods where there is a lot of unevenness," says former Congressional Budget Office director Douglas Holtz-Eakin, who is an adviser to the McCain campaign.

Democrats have always had an advantage when it comes to connecting with anxious and angry voters during bad economic times. The leading Democratic candidates have rushed forward in recent weeks with proposals for stimulus packages: one-time jolts designed to put government money quickly into the pockets of consumers. But they are largely academic exercises, given the fact that by the



Campaign 2008

For continuing coverage of the presidential race, including daily dispatches, the Swamppland blog and Mark Halperin's take on The Page, visit time.com



Pontiac in winter Voters in this state, hit hard by the economic downturn, demanded candidates provide hard answers

time the next President is inaugurated, it would probably be too late for any of them to do any good. What they are designed to do is signal to voters what kind of reflexes these candidates would have if they were facing this set of circumstances from the Oval Office.

Each candidate's proposal reflects the overall thrust of his or her campaign: John Edwards, who was first to release an economic-stimulus plan, has the most populist approach, focusing on such measures as assistance to unemployed workers and weatherizing homes. Hillary Clinton unveiled a detailed proposal shortly after her New Hampshire primary victory that showed off her economic expertise by putting more emphasis on the mortgage-lending crisis. And Barack Obama's solution was the most broad-based of the three, relying heavily on tax cuts and rebates to try to jump-start the economy.

That Republicans are even talking about the economy's woes at all is a relatively new development. As recently as October, in their debate in Dearborn, Mich., the candidates were content to point to positive job-growth numbers and downplay any problems as being the effect of local conditions that could be solved with the standard-issue GOP economic pre-

scriptions of tax cuts and less regulation.

Even now, most of them still haven't figured out how to address the economic concerns of voters. Says Romney adviser Weber: "Republicans are having a harder time finding their voice in this changing economic environment." When McCain was asked at the most recent Fox News debate in Myrtle Beach, S.C., what he might offer as a short-term, immediate fix to stave off a recession, he replied, "The first thing we need to do is stop the out-of-control spending." While curbing government spending is a good idea as a matter of policy, and a sure-fire applause line with Republicans, it is precisely the opposite of what many economists would

prescribe for giving the economy an immediate boost.

One Republican abandoning the usual GOP talking points has been Huckabee, who has sounded a more populist tone. "One thing a presidential candidate ought to be doing is acknowledging the 800-lb. gorilla that's in the room with us," he says. "It's astonishing to me when I hear the people in our party just act as if the economy is doing superb, and there's no issue to worry about. Too many Americans potentially could go into foreclosure on their homes. That has a rippling effect on the economy." Huckabee's prescriptions for giving the economy a quick boost, however, are hardly detailed or groundbreaking. The most he has done is issue a set of five principles that he calls "family, fed, fight, fuel, fair" and that sum up positions he had previously taken.

That sounds more like a bumper sticker than a platform, and it's not likely to be enough as the primary season heads forward into more states where voters are looking for real answers. It's still the economy, and no one can afford to be stupid.

—WITH REPORTING BY ANA MARIE COX/MICHIGAN, RANI MOLLA/WASHINGTON, MICHAEL SCHERER/SOUTH CAROLINA AND JYOTI THOTTAM/NEW YORK

Now the question for Romney is whether to stick to his new economic message as the race heads South—and whether it has any purchase outside of Michigan



James Poniewozik

Jesus Christ's Superstar

Whereas past Evangelicals have railed against pop culture, Mike Huckabee glories in it. But can his act cross over?



IN THE POPULAR AND political mind, pop culture and conservative Christianity are separated like church and

state. Britney, *The Da Vinci Code* and MTV are here; homeschooling, *Left Behind* and prairie music are there. What God hath put asunder, let not man attempt to join.

So it's surprising—yet for reasons we'll get into, entirely sensible—that the candidate who has made the most effective use of pop culture in campaign 2008 is the former president of the Arkansas Baptist State Convention. Mike Huckabee, the bass-playing, weight-loss-book-writing, late-night-quipping, Chuck Norris—befriending pastor, has turned an easy facility with pop culture into free media for his underfunded underdog campaign.

Huckabee's campaign is like *The Chronicles of Narnia* or *VeggieTales* cartoons: a Christian crossover product. For Old Guard evangelical leaders, not getting pop culture used to be a badge of honor; think Jerry Falwell's outing of Teletubby Tinky Winky or Pat Robertson's listing immoral TV as one reason for the Sept. 11 attacks. But Huckabee doesn't just engage with pop culture. He soaks in it.

Many voters first met Huckabee through the campaign spot in which he traded lines with action star Norris. The ad did more than defuse the humorless-preacher stereotype; it also spoke to Huckabee's base. To a general audience, Norris is a camp figure. But, notes Daniel Radosh, author of the forthcoming book *Rapture Ready!*, about Christian pop culture, Evangelicals know Norris as the author of a popular spiritual memoir and co-author of two Christian western nov-

els. To the public, appearing with Norris says Huckabee doesn't take himself too seriously. But, Radosh adds, "within the Christian culture bubble, it's a way of saying, 'I'm one of you.'"

Ironically, Huckabee may benefit from media stereotypes. To people who think of evangelical leaders as Bible thumpers, a pastor playing *Devil with a Blue Dress On* on bass is like a dog walking on its hind legs—though rock bands are common in modern churches. "In New York and L.A., there's this complete ignorance about what Evangelicals are really like," says

deprecating, but it's also strategic. Some Huckabee positions—on abortion, the so-called FairTax, immigration, aligning the Constitution with "God's standards"—would alienate some voters. But his joking reinforces his cultivated image as the conservative who's "not mad at anybody." And his dry irony—the lingua franca of pop culture—allows him to sandwich actual answers on awkward issues with his jokes. If he's lucky, viewers won't notice, or mind, the difference.

On a recent *Colbert Report*, Huckabee riffed to Stephen Colbert on Senator John McCain's vow to pursue Osama bin Laden "to the gates of hell." "I will charge hell with a water pistol if necessary," Huckabee deadpanned, as if to one-up McCain. How about outsourcing jobs? "As long as it isn't mine." Then Colbert asked if he believed that evolution was a farce. "It's all a farce," Huckabee said, in his usual dry tone. Ha ha! How droll! Except... um... he doesn't believe in evolution.

Having a foot in both worlds likewise allows Huckabee to play both media darling and media outsider. When he ran into controversy over a Christmas TV ad, he could blame it on a secular-culture "war against Christmas." When he pulled a negative TV ad yet showed it at a press conference, he explained the apparent hypocrisy by saying the skeptical press gave him no choice but to show it to them. Yet he's also a more ubiquitous presence on newscasts than the *HeadOn* commercials. He's running against, and on the backs of, the media.

Any crossover effort can have limits. Entertainer-preacher Huckabee could simply end up being the best-liked candidate among people who will never vote for him. But he has already become the political embodiment of the megachurch approach: get people in the door with rock or cappuccino or stand-up—but get them in the door. Religion and politics and show business are all about attracting people," Pelosi says. The big question is whether Huckabee can keep his lyrics from drowning out his music.



Alexandra Pelosi, a documentary (and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's daughter) who made the HBO movie *Friends of God*, about evangelical culture. "When I visited megachurches, the pastors were all making *Napoleon Dynamite* references."

A cultural divide shows, too, between Huckabee's base voters and the evangelical leaders who endorsed other GOP candidates. Adam Smith, editorial director of *Relevant*, a magazine for young Christians, says Huckabee's engagement with the pop world speaks to younger Evangelicals. "Most of our readers don't really see a demarcation between mainstream culture and 'church culture,'" he says.

Huckabee's greatest pop-culture weapon, though, may be the late-night shows. His humor is easy, wry and self-

To people who stereotype evangelical leaders as Bible thumpers, a pastor playing bass is like a dog walking on its hind legs

Breaking Down the Black Vote

After squabbling over race and civil rights, Clinton and Obama finally call a truce. But as the Democrats head into South Carolina, each will have to find a way to win over black voters

BY JOHN CLOUD/SOUTH CAROLINA

THE DEMOCRATS HAD SEEMED rather pleased with themselves so far this campaign season for having managed to avoid one of their typical self-immolating fights. Instead, once Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama had each taken an early contest, we heard a lot of self-satisfied gloss about how the party would make history with the first female presidential nominee or the first minority one.

Then the race moved from the monochrome fields of Iowa and the overwhelmingly white exurb known as New Hampshire into Nevada and South Carolina. The Nevada population is one-quarter Hispanic, and typically about half of South Carolina Democratic-primary voters are African American. Within hours of reaching those states, the contest between Clinton and Obama acquired a racial text and subtext that posed dangers for both candidates. The spat subsided only after the candidates stepped in to defuse the tension and return to the sort of post-identity campaigns that both will need to run in the general election.

South Carolina, where a Confederate battle flag still flies on the capitol grounds off Gervais Street and where dying but

persistent de facto segregation still divides church life and civic organizations, will be a test of just how deeply the skirmish has resonated with voters. Sixty years after South Carolina governor (later Senator) Strom Thurmond created the Dixiecrats, rupturing a Democratic Party he found insufficiently racist, the state is poised to remind Americans how far they have come—or how much further they still have to go.

In a contest pitting the son of a Kenyan against the wife of the man Toni Morrison suggested was “the first black President,” it was perhaps inevitable that a battle over race would be joined at some point. It took the form of an arch and insidious back-and-forth between the candidates over the role that the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. played in the civil rights movement.

On Jan. 7, Hillary Clinton said—in a comment highly uncontroversial from a historical perspective but highly inadvisable from a political one—that King’s dreams couldn’t have become law without the executive and legislative leadership of Lyndon Johnson. She was trying to make a point that forms the central claim of her candidacy: that Obama lacks the experience to effect change in Washington. Stung,

Not to be taken for granted

Voters listen to Obama in Iowa last year. Black women will probably make up South Carolina’s single largest voting group





Obama surrogates seized the irresistible opportunity to say Clinton was belittling King. Then the Clinton camp, not atypically, overreacted. The New York Senator complained that when Obama defended the value of hopeful rhetoric by referencing King, he was inappropriately comparing himself with the civil rights leader, and it was he, therefore, who didn't adequately appreciate King's unique historical role.

The fuss descended to a tawdry nadir on Jan. 13, when black entertainment baron and Clinton supporter Robert Johnson obliquely reminded a South Carolina audience that Obama has admitted using drugs. "Obama was doing something in the neighborhood that I won't say what he was doing—but he said it in his book," Johnson said with a smirk. (He later claimed, unconvincingly, that he was referring to Obama's "time spent as a community organizer.")

Sensing that the media conflagration served little purpose for either candidate, Clinton and Obama called a truce in time for a televised debate on Jan. 15 with the third major Democratic candidate, John Edwards. Polls suggest Clinton will lose the Democratic primary in South Carolina to Obama, but she would prefer to come in a respectable second, particularly among African Americans, who will be important for any Democratic nominee in November.

While South Carolina Democrats of all races have doubtless thought about the racial implications of this election, on the ground—in the churches and salons and restaurants the candidates visit—very few voters will actually base their decision on race. Indeed, what all candidates are learning—or will soon learn—is that African-American voters can't be neatly classified or treated as a homogeneous voting bloc. Nearly 80% of blacks vote Democratic, but Republican candidates have managed to make intermittent gains over the past decade. Many African-American voters—including Democrats—line up with conservatives on social and cultural issues. And in poll after poll, black voters say they would not cast their vote for a black presidential candidate solely because of the color of his skin. That's in part because the very definition of race has become more complex: according to a Pew Research Center poll of African Americans taken in November, nearly 40% said they don't believe blacks should be thought of as a single race.

Many of those currents are evident in South Carolina. Over the course of several days in the midst of the Clinton-Obama fracas, I met a number of well-connected black Democrats in the state who were unfamiliar with the details of the controversy. Xavier Starkes, 45, a trial attorney,

and Kia Anderson, 35, a state employee whose mother is a Clinton activist, were in fact slightly miffed at the (very white) notion that as African Americans they would cast their votes entirely on the basis of skin color or a media squabble.

Starkes leans toward fellow trial lawyer Edwards, with Obama a close second, and Anderson remains undecided between Clinton and Obama. (The Real Clear Politics average of polls taken between Jan. 1 and Jan. 13 has Obama at 42%, Clinton at 32% and Edwards at 16%.)

And yet Obama's race tugs at them, in the gut. For African-American women, however, Clinton also holds appeal—both as the first potential female President and a longtime activist for equal rights. African-

American women will probably make up the largest single voting group in the primary, if you extrapolate from the 2004 primary returns. "This particular election is kind of hardest, if I can put it that way, for the African-American female," says Jennette Williams, 55, a black Georgia public-schools employee who took her grandson Dimitris, 5, to hear Clinton speak in Columbia. Williams plans to vote in the Feb. 5 Georgia primary, but she is undecided between Clinton and Obama. "You have this opportunity to see either the first woman or the first African American."

For many African Americans, however, the issue of Obama's race is not tidily packaged. One delicate issue, rarely broached by white commentators but avidly discussed

South Carolina Voices

Photographs for TIME by
Vincent J. Musi



PHOTOGRAPH BY VINCENT J. MUSI

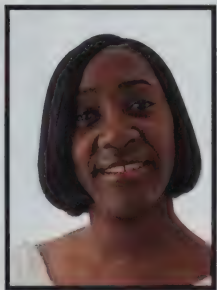
'Character assassination is not what his campaign is about.'

—**STATE REP. BAKARI SELLERS, 23**
An early Obama supporter, Sellers feels kinship with the candidate. He says, "We are two skinny guys with funny names."



'I'm on the fence between Obama and Clinton. I need to hear the issues.'

—**KIA ANDERSON, 35**
Anderson, who works for the state health and human services department, likes both candidates



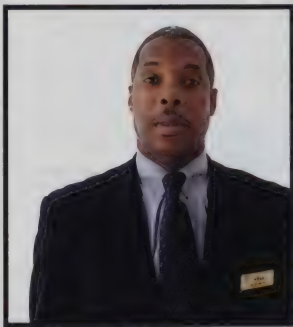
'There is profound bias against a woman or an African American.'

—**MARJORIE HAMMOCK, 72**
The social-work professor supported Edwards in 2004 but is choosing between Clinton and Obama now



'The next President doesn't have time to learn on the job.'

—**JOHN GOODWIN, 74**
The small-business expert at South Carolina State favors Clinton



'Obama is the only candidate who has the persona to unite this country.'

—**HORACE BLANDING, 49**
A security and guest-relations employee of Marriott, Blanding, a political junkie, also likes Ron Paul

among blacks, is Obama's biracial identity. "For some reason, if you're biracial and part African American, you're African American where the masses are concerned," says Williams, who has a biracial niece. "My thought is, he is really as much white as he is black." For her part, Marjorie Hammock, 72, a professor of social work at Benedict College who is also undecided, fears that a Clinton presidency would be "K Street all over again." But she's not sure about Obama. "Where are his points of reference, his experiences?" she asks. "It comes out of both of those worlds, I gather. I don't expect him to have a perspective on the world, say, as a Jesse Jackson might. I can want all I want to for him to be a candidate who would be steeped in the black tra-

dition and understands totally the issues in the black community. But he probably represents what this world is going to look like, and I don't fault him for who he is."

The nation's increasingly polychromatic mix could be an advantage for Obama. As with many social changes, though, the multiracial reality precedes the vocabulary we usually deploy in talking about race. All his life, Obama has faced both the challenges and the advantages of being biracial—the subtle hints in the African-American community that he isn't black enough, the racism in the white community that, thank goodness, he isn't too black. In his autobiography, *Dreams from My Father*, Obama wrote that "when people who don't know me well, black or white,

discover my background ... I see the split-second adjustments they have to make, the searching of my eyes for some telltale sign. They no longer know who I am."

The challenge for Obama and candidates like him is to establish a connection with traditional black constituencies while still maintaining a postracial profile. It's fitting that Obama often closes his stump speeches with an anecdote drawn from a campaign stop in South Carolina that reveals something about how he sees his identity.

As Obama tells it, he was at an event in tiny Greenwood County, S.C., last year, having driven hours out of his way through the rain in pursuit of an endorsement from a state representative, when someone started leading the group in a cheer. "I turn back. There's this little lady standing there," he recalled in Aiken, S.C., not long ago. "She got a big hat. And she's smiling at me. She says, 'Fired up! Ready to go!' And it turns out that this young lady's name is Edith Childs, and she's a councilwoman from Greenwood. And she is famous for her chant. They call her the chant lady. And for the next, it seemed like, five minutes, she just kept chanting. I don't really know what to



do. But here's the thing, Aiken: after about a minute or two, I'm feeling kind of fired up." He goes on to say that the point of the story is that "one voice can change a room."

Possibly, but for Obama, the point of the story is also to signal to black South Carolinians that he has learned to be one of them, not only a black man in appearance but also one comfortable with the call-and-response folkways of African-American Southern life.

"I think it's a sort of defining moment in his campaign, and not just because he got a slogan out of it," says Robert Tinsley, 54,

a white attorney who was at the meeting where Childs, 59, started the chant. "He was mesmerized by the enthusiasm he received, and I think it helped him connect better with the Southern black voter." Tinsley is leaning toward Obama but is still considering Clinton and Edwards because Obama can be "a little vague."

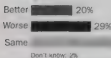
That could become a bigger liability for Obama as the race tightens in South Carolina and beyond. Clinton's victory in New Hampshire showed that Obama's effort to cast his campaign as a broad, generational crusade may not be enough to win

Fallout at the Polls?

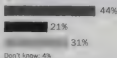
After a few tense days, Clinton and Obama reached a truce. But some damage may have been done. On Jan. 15, Clinton won the Michigan primary as expected (she was the only one of the top candidates to appear on the ballot). But some Democrats cast protest votes against her: 40% selected "uncommitted," compared with 55% who voted for her. In Detroit, fully 70% of black voters preferred "uncommitted" to Clinton.

Poll: What Black Voters Are Thinking

Are blacks better or worse off now than five years ago?



Will life for blacks be better or worse in the future?



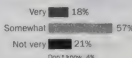
Can blacks still be thought of as a single race?



Is the civil rights movement still having a major impact on American society?

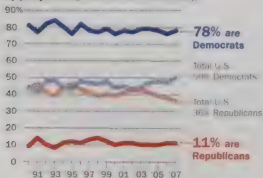


How effective are national black political leaders in providing leadership for black Americans?



HOW BLACK AMERICANS LINE UP POLITICALLY (■ Democrats ■ Republicans)

By party (including those who "lean" toward a party)



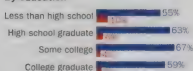
By age



By annual income



By education



Source: Pew Research Center survey of 3,086 adult Americans, including 1,007 African Americans, in November 2007. Margin of error is ±2.5 percentage points overall and ±4 percentage points for African Americans.

the nomination. Still, Childs says she supports Obama because "the sincerity this man shows is what I don't see in Hillary." She adds that Obama has inspired her to work harder to bring people together in a county that still has two American Legion posts—one favored by whites and one by blacks. On Jan. 21, for the local observance of King's birthday, she has made sure that the integrated choir from nearby Emerald High School will be a featured attraction so that both white and black families attend. "If nothing else," says Childs, "Obama has reminded us that we've got a lot to do in Greenwood in that area still."

Although pundits and campaign staffers alike will spend the days leading up to the South Carolina primary attempting to predict the outcome of the "black vote," the voters themselves prove the folly of such an exercise. Hammock says he will end up making what she calls a highly "political" choice: she wants to give "this one little ole vote" to whichever Democrat she believes is going to win the nomination so that he or she has the most resounding mandate possible going into the general election. Meanwhile, Anderson told me in Columbia that she didn't yet have enough information to make up her mind. "I still need to hear about the issues in depth from Senator Obama as well as from Senator Clinton." She will decide her vote, possibly in the booth, on the basis of the candidates' positions on health care and jobs.

The Rev. Fred Armfield, pastor of the Little Zion AME Church in Greenwood, says the black church has all but lost its electoral influence over African-American voters, and he's glad. "This generation has grown and is intelligent enough that it doesn't need a driver at the polls," says Armfield. "I don't take a position from the pulpit. I know the people in my congregation are independent thinkers." That said, however, he's backing Clinton. "The Clintons have always been good to the African-American community, and I'm staying with them," he says. He knows many black voters in Greenwood are torn between Clinton and Obama but says that's a good thing if it raises black turnout.

Twenty-two states will hold Democratic primaries or caucuses on Feb. 5. The racial politics of New York, California and many of the other states voting that day are so riverine that they make South Carolina's racial divide look simple. But if Obama can persuade enough black and white South Carolinians to give him a resounding victory, he may be able to claim that he knows not only how to fire up an American crowd but also how to dampen its lingering prejudices. —WITH REPORTING BY TIM PADGETT/GREENWOOD ■

Viewpoint: Randall Kennedy

The Right Shade of Black

Some black leaders want Obama to prove his racial loyalty. But his eyes should be on a bigger prize

FROM THE OUTSET OF HIS CAMPAIGN, Barack Obama has had to deal with doubts about his loyalty to African Americans. Skeptics point to his ancestry (his mother was white), his upbringing (he was raised in Hawaii, far afield from a cohesive black community) and, most of all, his large cadre of enthusiastic white supporters.

Obama appeals to white voters because of his eloquent optimism and gentle charisma but also because whites contrast him favorably with black leaders who are perceived as incessantly focusing on racism. A problem, though, is that strong white support in and of itself is enough to trigger suspicion on the part of some black onlookers.

"Why," they ask, "do white folks like that Negro so much? Is he a sellout?"

Obama himself acknowledged this problem in a speech last August to the National Association of Black Journalists. But pressure is mounting on Obama to accentuate his blackness and show that he has not forsaken his adopted racial roots. Some will claim that it is good politics for him to do so because the South Carolina primary features a Democratic Party electorate that is 50% African American. Another source of pressure comes from old-school civil rights activists suddenly facing eclipse, such as Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton.

As an African American, I hope Obama will withstand that pressure. First, although some activists and commentators do question whether Obama is "black enough," they are far from representative. Most black voters see Obama as unmistakably black, regardless of whom they prefer, and are thrilled to see an African American vying as a serious contender for the presidency. When Jackson and Sharpton ran, they did so symbolically. They were not genuinely campaigning for the presidency of the U.S. They were instead campaigning to become the NNIC (head Negro in charge) of black America.

Obama, by contrast, is genuinely seeking to capture the White House. Most blacks recognize that a realistic effort to win the presidency imposes pragmatic constraints that symbolic candidates are free to ignore.

Second, displaying commitment to racial loyalty would, for Obama, unjustifiably jeopardize key white support. Astonishing numbers of whites have been drawn to Obama's effort to forge a new alliance of voters that transcends race. When Senator Hillary Clinton accused Obama of deliberately racializing her ill-chosen remarks on Martin Luther King Jr., L.B.J., and civil rights legislation, she implicitly suggested that the Obama camp had indulged in racial

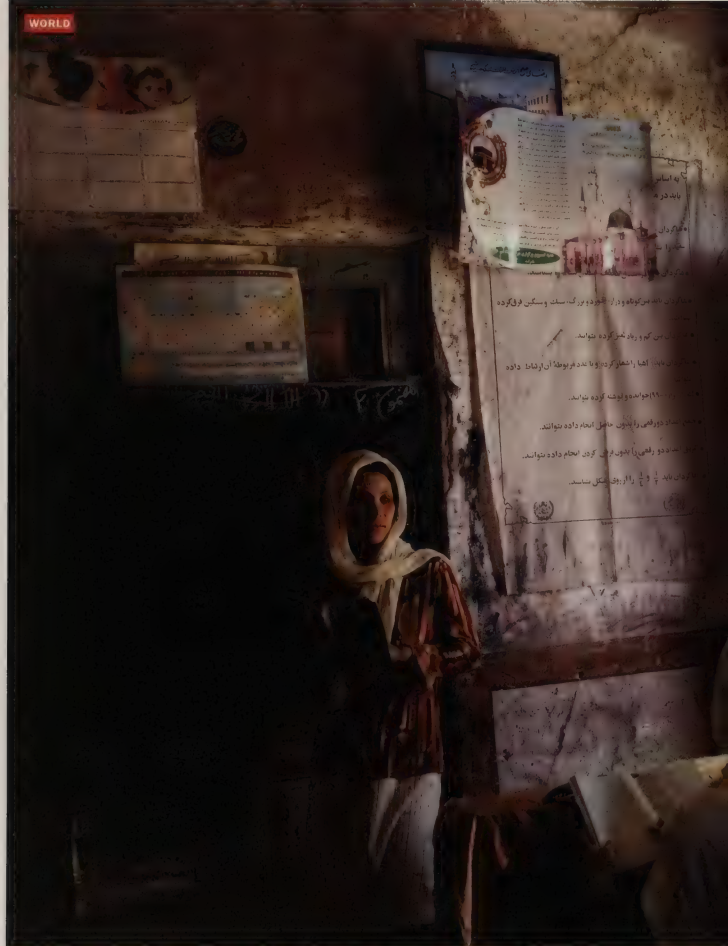


His own race Obama and Jackson, men with different styles

opportunism—victim-mongering of the Jackson Sharpton variety. An important slice of the white vote that Obama attracts is made up of people who are keenly attentive to such charges. They would quickly abandon him if convinced that, contrary to his rhetoric, he too was engaged in the old routines of accusatory racial gamesmanship.

Obama has promised a new kind of politics that eschews conventional racial posturing. Delivering on that promise is crucial to his success. Doing so will require the courage to risk disappointing those who have become accustomed to formulaic gestures of racial loyalty. That is a daunting challenge but one Obama must show the audacity to meet. ■

Kennedy, a Harvard Law professor, is author of *Sellout: The Politics of Racial Betrayal*



Female means lonely Seventh-grade English teacher Najia Zamani is a rarity: only 28% of Afghan teachers are women

A photograph of a girl in a headscarf looking out a window in a dark room. The girl is seen from behind, wearing a light-colored headscarf and a dark top. She is looking out of a window with a wooden frame. The room is dark, with light coming from the window. The title 'The Girl Gap' is overlaid on the right side of the image.

The Girl Gap

Six years after the fall of the Taliban, Afghanistan's girls are still fighting for an education. Here's what they need

BY ARYN BAKER/KAROKH DISTRICT, HERAT

NOTHING GIVES PRINCIPAL Sarwarya Sarwary more pleasure than the sound of her second-grade girls reciting a new lesson out loud. Six years ago, that sound could have gotten her executed. The Taliban had outlawed education for girls, but a few brave teachers taught them in secret. Sarwary, now the principal of Karokh District Girls High School in Afghanistan's Herat province, recalls gathering students furtively in her home and imparting lessons in whispers for fear that her neighbors might report her to the Taliban.

These days the biggest risk posed by the girls' enthusiastic recitation is that it may drown out the math lesson next door. Basira, a thin 8-year-old whose obligatory white head scarf is actually a cotton dish towel printed with Korean characters, stands before the class. She is learning to read today's lesson, which the teacher has written out on a makeshift blackboard propped up on a wobbly easel. "A vegetable should be washed before it is eaten," she reads aloud as she slowly traces each word with her fingertip. Her teacher beams, and her classmates applaud.

Karokh District Girls High School is one of the most successful in Herat. And in terms of girls' education, Herat is the most successful province in Afghanistan. Even so, conditions are far from ideal. Sarwary's tiny school doesn't have enough classrooms: second-graders huddle in a ragged tent in the courtyard, where a torn strip of khaki canvas hangs between rusting metal struts, blocking many of the girls' view of the blackboard. The fierce desert wind howls through the holes and threatens to tear the class's one textbook from the students' hands as they pass it around for reading lessons. There is no playground or running water. The toilet, a pit latrine located at the far corner of the school compound, serves 1,500 students. Only two of the 23 female teachers have graduated from high school. Half the second-grade students, ranging in age from 7 to 12, can read; the rest just recite from memory. The freedom to study is a blessing, but Sarwary knows it is not nearly enough. "Our students have talent and a passion for learning I've never seen before," says the slim, stylish 33-year-old. "But we still have problems."

The parlous status of girls' education belies one of the greatest hopes raised when the Taliban was toppled by U.S.-led forces in 2001: the liberation of Afghanistan's women. Yes, they can now vote, they have a quarter of the seats in parliament, and they are legally allowed to find jobs outside the home. Foreign donors and nongovernmental organizations have expended a great deal of energy and capital

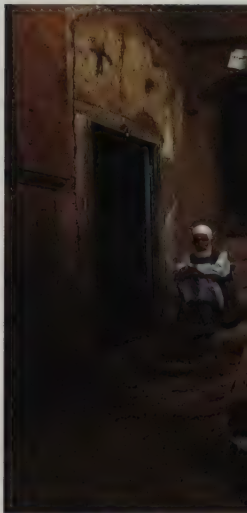
'If women are educated ... their children will be too.'

—GHULAM HAZRAT TANHA, HERAT'S
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

on building women's centers and conducting gender-awareness workshops. But more than six years since the fall of the Taliban, fewer than 30% of eligible girls are enrolled in schools, and the infrastructure is so poor that only a tiny fraction are likely to get the education they need to enjoy the fruits of emancipation.

The stakes for Afghan society are high. Every social and economic index shows that countries with a higher percentage of women with a high school education also have better overall health, a more functional democracy and increased economic performance. There's another payoff that is especially important to Afghanistan: educated women are a strong bulwark against the extremism that still plagues Afghanistan, underscored by the Jan. 14 bombing of a luxury hotel in Kabul, which killed eight. "Education is the factory that turns animals into human beings," says Ghulam Hazrat Tanha, Herat's director of education. "If women are educated, that means their children will be too. If the people of the world want to solve the hard problems in Afghanistan—kidnapping, beheadings, crime and even al-Qaeda—they should invest in [our] education."

For girls in much of the country, education remains a dream no more attainable now than it was under the Taliban. In the past six years, 3,500 new schools have been built across the country, but fewer than half of them have buildings. Most are in tents, in the shade of trees or wherever open space can be made available. This has a direct bearing on the number of girls enrolled: most Afghan families won't allow their daughters to be where they may be seen by men. "Girls in this society have certain needs," says Education Minister Hanif Atmar. "They cannot be in a tented school or in an open space with no sanitation facilities, so they simply do not go." Competing demands for government money and more obvious problems such as a raging insurgency, poppy cultivation and widespread corruption leave education to nibble from the crumbs. Atmar figures he needs \$2.5 billion for the next five years just to cover basic improvements such as training teachers, printing textbooks and building 73,000 classrooms—even tented ones—that might just accommodate all



Afghan schoolkids if they study in shifts.

But a five-year plan is a luxury. Atmar can't find enough money for his most pressing needs. He got only \$282 million this year, \$216 million short of his barebones operating budget. Of the 40,000 teachers the Education Ministry said were necessary to meet the demand for schooling this year, the central government has been able to budget for only 10,000.

The shortage of university-educated instructors means that the higher grades suffer the most. Najeeba Behbood, 26, an 11th-grader at Karokh High School, was



A passion for learning Boys listen attentively during Dari language lessons in a tent at the Hariwua Intermediate School, Herat, above; the second-grade class of Payan Mahale School, Herat, left

lucky to land in a chemistry class taught by a former college professor. Even then, the course was pure theory: with no laboratory, the teacher had to make rough drawings on the blackboard to demonstrate the use of cathodes and anodes in producing electricity. But Behbood is happy to be in the class at all—it was a struggle persuading her parents to permit her to attend, because the professor was male.

The Taliban policy of keeping girls out of school was based on a very strong cultural prohibition against having women mix with unrelated men. Those traditions still define large swaths of Afghan society—even in urban areas like Kabul. “My family says that they would rather I be illiterate than be taught by a man,” says Yasamin Rezzaie, 18, who is learning dressmaking at a women’s center in Kabul. Her parents refused to let her go to her neighborhood school because some of the teachers are male. Both her parents are illiterate, and they don’t see the need for her to learn to read when the

risk of meeting unrelated men is so high.

“In Afghan culture, women are seen as the repository of family honor, and the education of girls—whether in terms of the design of school buildings or in the way in which classes are conducted—needs to reflect that reality,” says Matt Waldman, the Afghan policy adviser for Oxfam, which released a damning report in 2006 on the state of education in Afghanistan. It shows that the ratio of boys to girls in primary school is roughly 2 to 1, but by the time girls enter secondary school (and puberty), the ratio drops to four boys for every girl.

Most Afghan families won't allow their daughters to be where they may be seen by men

In more than 80% of rural districts, there are no girls in secondary school at all. Overall, only 10% of girls in school actually obtain a diploma.

The Oxfam report identifies another critical factor holding back girls’ education: only 28% of the country’s accredited teachers are women. “It is absolutely crucial to increase the number of female teachers if you want to see more girls in school,” says Waldman.

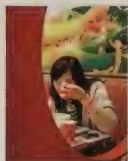
But if there are so few girls completing their education, how do you grow the next generation of female teachers? The first answer, says Atmar, is to remove all other impediments to girls’ going to school. That means constructing new buildings so classes aren’t held in the open. In the meantime, unconventional inducements can help. In a successful program in some rural areas, girls are given a free ration of oil and flour at the end of every month. This encourages their poor families to keep sending them to school. Increasing teachers’ salaries would convince more parents that their daughters should take up the profession. Teachers with high school diplomas earn \$50 to \$75 a month, a tiny return on investment for families whose daughters could be spending those 12 years at home weaving carpets, tending the fields or taking care of the household.

While struggling to build the new infrastructure, educators must also contend with Afghanistan’s old demons: the Taliban is making a comeback in several provinces and reimposing its rules. In little over a year, 130 schools have been burned, 105 students and teachers killed and 307 schools closed down because of security concerns. Many of those schools were for girls, and most of them were in the southern provinces, where a Taliban-driven insurgency has made it nearly impossible to secure the schools. But the violence is creeping closer to the capital. In June 2007, two gunmen on a motorcycle shot dead three female students coming out of high school in the central province of Logar, a 1½-hour drive from Kabul.

But if Afghanistan has any reason for hope, it is the sheer determination of the girls who do have a chance to go to school. Lida Ahmadyar, 12, whose sister was one of the girls killed in the Logar shooting, has started going back to school. Every day she walks past the spot where her sister died, but she clings to her dream of becoming a doctor. “I am afraid,” she says. “But I like school because I am learning something, and that will make me important. With education, I can save my country.” If enough of Afghanistan’s girls get the chance, they may do just that. —WITH

REPORTING BY ALI SAFI/KABUL ■

When Eat Meets West



Can a Kentucky fast-food company bring Chinese food to China—and tacos to Mexico? Why not? Call it the “glocalization” of cuisine

BY LISA TAKEUCHI CULLEN

WITH ITS CHINESE LETTERING and unremarkable name, the fast-food outlet in a Shanghai shopping mall looks like many others selling local fare. East Dawning is crowded with customers on this winter evening, and they're sampling a menu that includes pork fried rice, marinated egg and plum juice. Stanley Yao, a restaurateur from Hong Kong who is opening a sushi joint nearby, dines here once a month. The food is “a little too oily,” he says, but he likes the soy-milk drinks, and “the prices, of course, are very reasonable.” (A meal of noodles, tea and custard dessert costs \$4.) With eight storefronts around Shanghai, East Dawning could soon give China's biggest fast feeder, KFC, a run for its money. Good thing for them they're playing on the same team.

Starbucks has the gall to sling its lattes for coffee connoisseurs in Vienna, and Budweiser peddles its brew in Belgium. So why shouldn't Yum Brands—the Louisville, Ky.-based company that owns KFC, Pizza Hut, Taco Bell and more—sell dumplings in a fast-growing market where Chinese food is just called food? Heck, while they're at it, why not sell tacos in Mexico? Yum is doing both, with the test-marketing of East Dawning in Shanghai and the opening of a Taco Bell in Monterrey last fall. Yum's

iconoclastic CEO, David Novak, likens it to how Ray Kroc of McDonald's brought hamburgers to America. “I asked, What's the hamburger in China?” he says. “Obviously, it's Chinese food.” Except Kroc was an American selling American food to Americans. Is this brilliant, or is Novak half-Kroc-ed?

Certainly Yum knows how to cross borders. Since it was spun off from PepsiCo in 1997, the company has radically transformed its overseas business. With Americans stuffed on fast-food options and domestic sales growth a skinny 2% annually, companies like Yum must go global to give Wall Street what it craves. A decade ago, stores overseas brought in less than 20% of profits; today it's 50%. In 2006 the company earned \$824 million in net income on total revenue of \$9.6 billion.

The story of Yum Brands shows that in the global economy, it's not so much what you sell but how you sell it. Ten years ago, Colonel Sanders was losing the

‘I asked, What's the hamburger in China? Obviously, it's Chinese food.’

—DAVID NOVAK, CEO OF YUM BRANDS

global fast-food war to the Golden Arches. PepsiCo had spread its restaurant division too thin, planting capital-consuming, company-owned-and-operated stores in 32 countries instead of franchising them as it does in the U.S. But PepsiCo did set up valuable infrastructure, including supplier relationships and local management teams. “PepsiCo laid down the tracks but hadn't yet taken advantage of the opportunity,” says Novak. In swift order, the newly independent Yum (named Tricon Global Restaurants until 2002) pulled its company-run operations out of all but eight countries. Later it focused expansion on three emerging economies (China, India and Russia) and three developed ones (France, Germany and the Netherlands). Over the past seven years, it has been opening stores outside the U.S., not including China, at a pace of more than 700 annually.

KFC and Pizza Hut restaurants now number more than 12,000 in 110 countries outside China, says Graham Allan, president of Yum Restaurants International (YRI). Of those stores, 85% are owned and run by franchisees. Operating profit more than doubled, from \$186 million in 1998 to \$407 million in 2006. International profits drove the stock price up 82% over 10 years. Yum's largest markets overseas include Australia and the U.K. Pizza Hut ranks as the most trusted food-service brand in India, and Russia will soon greet the Colonel through a partnership with top chicken chain Rostik's.

And then there's China, where Yum is so big that it has reported earnings separately since 2005. Profits from Yum's stores in China, Thailand and Taiwan popped 37% in 2006, while all other international profits grew 11%, domestic a mere 3%. A KFC opened nearly every day in China last year, and KFCs and Pizza Huts now number more than 2,300. (McDonald's has about 1,000 restaurants, not that Yum keeps track.) Sam Su, who runs Yum in China, projects 20,000 stores someday. “We're nowhere close to saturation at all,” he says. “The sky is the limit.”

As millions of Chinese find their wealth swelling and their time shrinking, sit-down meals involving several generations no longer fit the needs of a hurried and harried middle class. “The lifestyle is changing,” says Su. “People are getting more urbanized and busy, with less time to cook at home.” KFC's grab-and-go menu items were a novel solution, while Pizza Hut launched the concept of eating out at a casual restaurant with the whole family. KFC opened its first drive-through in 2002 just as China was becoming a car-owning



Clockwise from top:
Quick service Sun Cui hurries an order during the lunch rush at an East Dawning in Shanghai

Variety and value
East Dawning's menu features local favorites on the cheap
Custard with that?
Two blue-clad customers—they work in a competing restaurant nearby—order lunch from East Dawning's Ming Jun



优质安心 随享60余种精致美食



Sweet-and-sour pork ribs 19 yuan (\$2.60)

Ground meat and chicken wings 19 yuan (\$2.60)

Crispy wok-fried chicken 19 yuan (\$2.60)

Fried eel 20 yuan (\$2.75)

Spicy beef with noodles 20 yuan (\$2.75)

culture. In 2001 Pizza Hut Home Service began introducing the idea of hot meals delivered to the door (which might seem ironic to Americans, for whom Chinese is the ultimate delivery meal).

Pizza and fried chicken are tasty treats, but they're not staples in China like, say, noodles and dumplings—and that's where Yum thinks it can really score. And if a Yank selling egg rolls to the Chinese seems a bit quixotic, then Novak, 55, is the right man for the job. The CEO of Yum

since 2000, he's a plain-talking, cheerleading executive who boasts of never having attended business school. He's given to goofy team-building tactics like passing out rubber chickens (and \$100) to KFC managers whose stores are performing well. A former \$7,200-a-year advertising copywriter, Novak took his marketing chops to PepsiCo in 1987. Though he suffered his biggest failure there—Crystal Pepsi, which he still contends was the right idea at the wrong time—he was

handed the reins to the KFC and Pizza Hut units in 1996. He chronicled a childhood spent in 32 trailer parks and an otherwise unconventional path to the corner office in a 2007 book titled *The Education of an Accidental CEO*.

This time, Novak's idea might be the right one at the right time. The menus at East Dawning restaurants don't offer overtly American fare but still attract Chinese consumers because of the quality and service associated with an American



It's something else After an abortive attempt in 1992, Taco Bell returned to Mexico in fall 2007. This time, it doesn't pretend to be Mexican

brand. The formula developed by Yum's other banners overseas—cheap food delivered in cheerful surroundings—has provided a welcome mat for the company. Diner Frank Li, a project engineer on a trip from Suzhou, says the restaurant's link to KFC and Pizza Hut is a draw, not a drawback. "Those places are good quality," he says. "You know what you're going to get. They are a very professional company that must know what it's doing, and I think the quality here shows that."

Yum's next "globalization" trick: exporting Taco Bell, its top brand in the U.S., to Mexico. In late October, a Taco Bell headed for the border and to a Mexican suburb, its grand opening attended by government officials and hordes of press. Diners flocked to the restaurant, located in a busy shopping plaza in Monterrey, though many seemed bemused by the offerings. Claudia and Ignacio Sosa dropped in with their toddler Fatima after a trip to the supermarket. "This is not tacos or burritos or quesadillas, even though they're called that," says Claudia. "We have never had a taco with rice and fried potatoes. But Fatima loves the fries."

Yum executives are confident that Mexicans are ready for Mexicanish food. Up to 10 more Taco Bells are in the works there through 2008, with plans to reach 300 eventually. To be accurate, Yum first tested the market in 1992 but withdrew two years later. This time Taco Bell doesn't pretend to be Mexican. "We're Mexican-inspired," says YRI's Allan, "and Mexicans

should feel proud of that." Its advertising slogan is "Es otra cosa," or "It's something else"—a pointed acknowledgment that what Yanks call a taco doesn't resemble the real thing at all (the closest thing, a tostada, is a flat, hard cornmeal disk). Fries and ice cream are lumped onto the menu, the better to differentiate it from the offerings at the ubiquitous taquerias. But the items are proving so popular, they may remain on the menus in the next markets, which Yum says include Dubai, the Philippines, Spain and Japan.

Taco Bell is still working out kinks in its supply chain overseas. While chicken and pizza dough are procured relatively easily around the world, the company can't find a taco shell in Mexico that meets its specs. "We have high quality standards for elements like our tacos and ground beef and cheese, and trying to match those in each of these countries is not easy," says Allan. So for now, Taco Bell Mexico imports taco shells from the U.S., a fact that might irk consumers

'This is not tacos or burritos or quesadillas. We have never had a taco with rice and fries.'

—CLAUDIA SOSA, CUSTOMER AT TACO BELL IN MONTERREY, MEXICO

in the birthplace of the taco. But Allan stresses that the tactic is a stopgap; importing basic supplies is expensive and time-consuming. "In the long run, it's not sustainable," he says.

What does appear sustainable is the world's appetite for Yum's fast food. Not everybody thinks that's a good thing. After all, this is the company whose top-selling new product is the KFC Famous Bowl: breaded, fried chicken strips, corn, cheese, gravy and mashed potatoes—a 710-calorie dish that the comedian Patton Oswalt calls a "failure pile in a sadness bowl." Fast foods—even those that mimic local cuisines—represent a dramatic change in diet for many cultures. "When you offer high-calorie food to a thin population, they go from small to large very quickly and begin to develop signs of heart disease, diabetes and high blood pressure at much lower weights," says Marion Nestle, a New York University professor and the author of *Food Politics*. "You can expect to see these problems in India and China in very short order."

For its part, Yum argues that it's not exporting fatty foods so much as offering tasty options to the global public. "The answer to the nutrition issue is balance and exercise," says Novak, pointing to a basketball tournament sponsored by KFC in China and a menu there that includes healthier alternatives like roasted chicken. In fact, the roasted menu items are such a hit in China that Yum executives are testing them out in the U.S. It's an interesting twist: Yum is looking to the soaring international business to expand its appeal at home. What about bringing its Chinese-food chain to the U.S.? "Now that," says Novak, "would be a Class A opportunity." To put it another way, that's thinking outside the sticky bun. —WITH REPORTING BY BILL POWELL/SHANGHAI AND DOLLY MASCARENAS/MONTERREY ■

Samantha Power

Rethinking Iran

The U.S. needs a sustainable policy for dealing with the Islamic republic. Here's what it would look like



EARLIER THIS MONTH, the U.S. Navy reported that five Iranian speedboats had approached a U.S. convoy in the Strait of Hormuz and radioed the threat "You will explode." President Bush promptly warned that five Iranian speedboats had approached a U.S. convoy in the Strait of Hormuz and radioed the threat "You will explode." President Bush promptly warned that five Iranian speedboats had approached a U.S. convoy in the Strait of Hormuz and radioed the threat "You will explode." President Bush promptly warned that five Iranian speedboats had approached a U.S. convoy in the Strait of Hormuz and radioed the threat "You will explode."

The war scare that wasn't stands as a metaphor for the incoherence of our policy toward Iran: the Bush Administration attempts to gin up international outrage by making a claim of imminent danger, only to be met with international eye rolling when the claim is disproved. Sound familiar? The speedboat episode bore an uncanny resemblance to the Administration's allegations about the advanced state of Iran's weapons program—allegations refuted in December by the National Intelligence Estimate.

In the eyes of even our closest allies, the Administration's Iran policy amounts to a lurch from one imagined crisis to the next. But between U.S. hype and the rest of the world's indifference lies the stubborn truth about Iran: the most populous and economically thriving country in the Persian Gulf is run by a regime that arrests and tortures critics at home while fueling destabilization and violence abroad. What America

needs is a sensible, sustainable Iran policy that can meet U.S. security and economic interests, command international support and withstand the shifting Middle Eastern sands. What would such a policy look like?

Answering that question first requires Washington to recognize how much our current policies have strengthened the Islamic republic. Despite denouncing Iran's influence in the new Iraq, the Administration has spent billions propping up an Iraqi government whose leaders take many of their cues from Tehran. Threats



of possible U.S. military action against Iran have given President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad a scapegoat, helping him maintain power by stirring nationalist solidarity. And the removal of Saddam Hussein and the Taliban, combined with the decline in U.S. influence in the region, has created a void that Iran has exploited to spread its influence.

Bush's latest strategy involves trying to contain Iran by arming Sunni counterweights in the region, like Saudi Arabia and other gulf states. Such a strategy is rooted in the cold war mantra that even if a regime was a "son of a bitch," it should be supported as long as it was "our son of a bitch." It doesn't work. Washington supported both Osama bin Laden and Saddam in the 1980s on precisely this logic,

but after 9/11, Bush himself acknowledged that coddling the enemies of our enemies had not made them friends; instead it had helped sow more extremism. And today Arab governments can no longer be bought by a single bidder. Avoiding too close an association with Washington, they toy with Russia, China, India and others competing for their affection.

A new Iran policy should start with the premise that any country behind a problem can also be behind a solution. No aspect of the Iraq quagmire can be resolved without Iranian involvement.

Washington has a better chance of modifying Iran's influence in Iraq—and Afghanistan, the Palestinian territories and Lebanon—than of immediately halting it.

To do so, we need to broaden the range of policy tools we draw upon. That means refraining from redundant reminders that military force is still "on the table," which only strengthen the hand of hard-line Islamists and nationalists. It means broadening cultural contacts with the Iranian people, bypassing the regime through Voice of America and the Internet. And it means trying high-level political negotiations, something the Bush Administration has so far shunned. Supporters of engagement should not equate dialogue with concessions. We should ask

international negotiators to insist—as we did with the Soviet Union during the cold war—that Iran address human-rights issues as well as security concerns. It's true that earlier attempts at engagement have produced few dividends. But what negotiations can do is diminish perceptions of U.S. arrogance and remind the world of the urgency of getting Iran to cooperate on issues of shared interest, from preventing state failure in Lebanon, Iraq and Afghanistan to caring for Iraqi refugees.

Engaging Iran won't guarantee improved U.S.-Iranian relations or a more stable gulf region. But not engaging means more of the same. The longer we wait to rethink our Iran policy, the greater the likelihood that the next crisis will erupt into a full-fledged confrontation. ■

The war scare that wasn't stands as a metaphor for the incoherence of our policy toward Iran. Sound familiar?

Banker of America

Kenneth Lewis brought calm to the rattled financial industry by agreeing to take over Countrywide. But he doesn't want to save banking—just dominate it

BY JYOTI THOTTAM

IN AN INDUSTRY BUILT ON BIG TALK AND swagger, Bank of America's Kenneth Lewis is an anomaly. "I don't feel the need to be a dominant force through talking first or talking the most. That's not one of my needs," he tells me in an interview at the North Carolina bank's office in midtown Manhattan. "Listening can be a competitive advantage. Some people just can't do it."

Lewis looks out over the expanse of Central Park—a panoramic view he calls the most beautiful in the world—and describes the last time he exercised that skill. About a month ago, the CEO of Countrywide Financial, Angelo Mozilo, called him to ask for help. The beaten-down mortgage lender, whipping boy for everything that went wrong in last year's

Lewis' empathy for struggling customers is hard-won. How many other FORTUNE 500 CEOs know what it's like to be denied a mortgage?

mortgage meltdown, was facing rumors of bankruptcy after burning through an \$11.5 billion credit line. Lewis had already invested \$2 billion of his company's money in Countrywide, a sum by then worth half of that, but he heard Mozilo out. "He just said, 'I at least would like you to look at this company. It's a good company. I think it's time for us to do something.' He's 69 years old. And so we did."

BofA agreed on Jan. 11 to buy Countrywide for about \$4 billion in stock, acquiring Countrywide's \$1.5 trillion loan portfolio along with its battered reputation and a swamp of lawsuits. You could almost hear the sighs of relief coming from Wall Street—not to mention the Treasury Department

and Federal Reserve—that someone had swooped in to prevent the collapse of the nation's largest mortgage lender and whatever else it might pull down in its wake. CreditSights analyst David Hender called the deal a "rescue bid" that would give the markets some much needed stability. The irresistible headline: MAIN STREET SAVES WALL STREET.

Lewis can't muster much enthusiasm for his new role as savior. "It's nice that we could to some degree have an effect that would calm the markets" is all he will admit. BofA can't bail out the Wall Street banks, which have been busy trying to save themselves after absorbing some \$100 billion in losses. Citigroup, reeling under the weight of its own subprime damage, announced a \$9.8 billion loss for the fourth quarter of 2007, forcing it to seek \$12.5 billion in new capital from investors including sovereign wealth funds run by Kuwait and Singapore. Merrill Lynch was also combing the world for cash in the face of yet another write-down, expected to be \$15 billion.

Lewis, 60, insists that he bought Countrywide for his shareholders, not the greater good. "In no way did any government agency call us prior to encourage us," he says. "I can't say they weren't glad that we did it. But we did it on our own."

Some analysts have speculated that the deal conveniently earns BofA the political goodwill it will need if it ever wants to expand its consumer-banking business. (The bank already holds close to the federal limit of 10% of the nation's deposits.) Lewis says his motivation is much more straightforward: to complete his vision of a truly national bank serving every financial need that any American might have, by adding the one missing piece—mortgages.

Mozilo may have led Countrywide over the subprime cliff, but he also constructed a formidable mortgage machine—1,000 offices in 49 states responsible for 9 million loans worth about

\$1.5 trillion. Lewis had to figure out whether acquiring it would be worth the legal heartburn, including a shareholders' lawsuit accusing Countrywide's board of improperly helping company executives buy stock. (The Securities and Exchange Commission is investigating Mozilo's trading activity in Countrywide stock.) In California, some borrowers allege that Countrywide lenders steered them into subprime loans even though they could have qualified for better terms. And the city of Cleveland is suing Countrywide, among other lenders, to recover "public nuisance" costs created by a wave of foreclosures.

Before he agreed to take on those burdens, Lewis sent 60 BofA executives to check under Countrywide's hood—a huge commitment of inside talent for a task that other CEOs would have left to outside lawyers and accountants. The execs liked what they saw. "I kept on getting reports back from people saying they are really good at what they do," he says. "They have great technology at the front end, they have great technology in their operations, and their people are very good at selling."

Whatever problems Countrywide had, he concluded, came from bad decisions at the top, not malfeasance on the ground. Once the deal closes later this year, Lewis pledges to do right by Countrywide's borrowers. "We will bend over backwards not to foreclose," he says. "We will find a way to work things out."

That empathy for struggling customers is hard won. How many other FORTUNE 500 CEOs know what it's like to be denied a mortgage—as Lewis was when he was a 30-year-old manager newly posted to New York City from Charlotte, N.C.? A native of Meridian, Miss., Lewis was steeped in the gospel of hard work from an early age. When his father left the family, Lewis' mother Byrdine supported him and his sister in Columbus, Ga., by working double shifts as a nurse. Following her example, Lewis worked his way through





Bank run Percentage change in stock price, past 12 months



Georgia State University as an accountant and an airline-reservation agent.

It would be a mistake, however, to construe his banking strategy as public service. Lewis may have been born in Mississippi and raised in Georgia, but he grew up at NationsBank. It is, essentially, the only full-time employer he has ever had, and he has spent the past 38 years of his life singularly dedicated to the mission set out by his equally determined mentor, Hugh McColl, to transform that North Carolina institution into what would become Bank of America.

McColl and his two predecessors laid the groundwork, challenging interstate banking regulations to expand into a regional powerhouse in the Southeast and

then on the West Coast, where it captured BofA in 1998 and hauled the name back to Charlotte. Since Lewis became CEO in 2001, the bank's reach has exploded in every direction. BofA is now No. 1 in deposits (with the \$47 billion purchase of FleetBoston Bank), No. 1 in credit cards (\$35 billion for MBNA) and No. 1 in wealth

'The only way to really succeed is to find beauty and excitement in organic growth.'

—KENNETH LEWIS, BANK OF AMERICA CEO

Rescue me Mozilo, CEO of Countrywide, sought help from BofA's Lewis, who agreed to buy the troubled mortgage lender for \$4 billion in stock

management (\$3.3 billion for U.S. Trust), and with the Countrywide deal, it will soon be No. 1 in mortgages. If Wall Street once looked at this bank as some sort of Southern arriviste, that notion was erased for good in November 2006 when BofA's \$243.7 billion market capitalization surpassed that of Citigroup. Blackstone CEO Stephen Schwarzman, the insider's insider on the Street, praises BofA as "a phenomenally successful earnings machine."

While it may be tempting to think of the Countrywide deal as a happy ending to the fable of the subprime-mortgage market, for BofA it is really the climax of a 30-year saga of grand ambition. What next? "The only way to really succeed," Lewis says, "is to find beauty and excitement in organic growth." For BofA, that means getting credit-card holders to open checking accounts and turning mortgage borrowers into private-banking clients. It's the same strategy that Citi has pursued without much success, but Lewis says his bank is focused on just one country, the U.S. "That's a big advantage and a big difference," he says.

Lewis isn't expecting much beauty or excitement anytime soon. He will consider the Countrywide deal a success if BofA earns back half its purchase price within three years. As his competitors announced massive write-downs and losses in their fourth-quarter earnings reports, Lewis wouldn't allow himself to crow. "I don't feel great about ours either," he says. "If we had met our objectives, I'd be gloating, but we didn't." He has warned that next week's fourth-quarter earnings will be profitable but disappointing, and he expects to set aside \$3.3 billion in write-downs. So days after the Countrywide deal, Lewis announced a restructuring of BofA's struggling investment-banking business, including a round of 650 layoffs. Unlike Citi and Merrill Lynch, BofA has never made the grade as a big hitter in investment banking.

Of course, BofA hasn't botched its business so badly that it has to beg for money overseas, as they do. In fact, the bank is making foreign investments, not inviting them, with three recent plays in Mexico, Brazil and China. Lewis says those limited stakes are as far as he plans to go. "I don't see buying any bank," he says. Then again, he says of his last three billion-dollar acquisitions: "Certain things came our way." If a good deal calls, Ken Lewis will be listening.—WITH REPORTING BY BARBARA KIVIAI/NEW YORK



Justin Fox

The Rites of Recession

It may already be upon us, and it could be painful. But it's not the biggest economic issue in town



EVERY DAY IT'S LOOKING more like a recession in the U.S. The December economic numbers (released in January) have been mostly bad: unemployment up, to 5%; retail sales down 0.4%; industrial production flat. The housing market, where all the trouble started, is still in the tank. Banks are reporting big new losses and layoffs. Stock prices are plummeting. Presidential contenders are starting to focus on the economy on the campaign trail. It's ugly out there.

So let's just say it is in fact recession time for the world's biggest economy. What does that mean, exactly?

To be pedantic about it, that means a "significant decline in economic activity spread across the economy, lasting more than a few months." That's the semi-official definition of a recession, courtesy of the National Bureau of Economic Research, a private think tank that since 1929 has determined the start and end dates of U.S. downturns. A clearer but clunkier standard is two straight quarters of declining gross domestic product. Or there's Harry Truman's classic definition: "It's a recession when your neighbor loses his job; it's a depression when you lose yours."

What we're talking about is an economy-wide mood swing. Businesses in lots of industries shed jobs. Consumers tighten their belts. Banks curtail lending. And then, usually within 12 months, things bottom out and start heading upward again. It's a temporary, cyclical phenomenon—not to be confused with long-term trends like the rise of China and India, the growth in income in-

It's a temporary, cyclical phenomenon—not to be confused with long-term trends like the rise of China and India, the growth in income inequality and the decline of the TV sitcom

equality and the decline of the TV sitcom.

From 1945 to '82, there were nine recessions in the U.S. That's about one every four years. Since then, the downturns have become rarer and shallower. This would be the first since 2001, and before that, there hadn't been one since 1991. The move from manufacturing toward a less volatile services-dominated economy is one explanation. A more competent Federal Reserve is another. The trade-off has been that postrecession recoveries have been more muted than

sumer spending in the U.S. have always been modest and brief. That's partly because the government has become so acutely responsive to signs of distress. The Fed is already on the case, with three interest-rate cuts since September and more likely on Jan. 31. There's also fevered talk in Washington of a fiscal-stimulus package—income-tax rebates are a possibility, although so far Congress and the White House haven't been able to agree on anything.

None of this will have much impact,



Flat retail sales American consumers, like these in Chicago, may finally be pulling back

those of yore, while prerecession angst has, if anything, grown.

The very shallowness of the last recession is part of what's causing worry now. In 2001 most businesses cut back sharply on spending. Thanks to the superlow interest rates set by the Fed, though, households plowed on, and for the first time ever, consumer spending kept rising during a recession. It continued rising afterward, much faster than incomes, with Americans paying for the difference by taking on more and more debt. That debt spiral is now unraveling, and the ensuing credit crunch could crimp spending for years.

Still, people need to eat, and since World War II, outright declines in con-

though, on long-run big issues like U.S. competitiveness, the state of the middle class, etc. For example, if the world economy is able to shrug off a U.S. downturn—a big topic of debate among economists at the moment—it would be a sign that America's global role has been permanently downgraded. But it won't be the doing of the recession, which is, remember, just a passing phenomenon.

Keep that in mind when listening to those presidential candidates talk economics. By the time one of them takes office a year from now, this year's slump will probably be history. It's the other stuff that he or she might actually be able to do something about.

Your cholesterol will never see him coming.



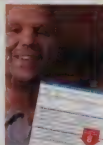
Here's how he does it.

Quaker Oatmeal isn't just a cholesterol-free food. Three grams of soluble fiber daily from oatmeal may actually help reduce heart disease risk as part of a heart healthy diet.* That's because oatmeal is a nutritious whole grain food that goes in and helps soak up cholesterol, actually removing some of it from your body. And it does it in a very tasty way.

It's hardworking.

Quaker Oatmeal contains soluble fiber that binds with cholesterol, a substance that can clog arteries and lead to heart disease. Your

bloodstream can't absorb all the cholesterol and so some of it is removed from your body. Your overall number could drop.



Bill, 44

I know my cholesterol was too high. So I took the Quaker Smart Heart Challenge for 30 days. I exercised, ate right, and ate Quaker Oatmeal everyday. It helped lower my cholesterol. Now I think everyone should take the challenge.

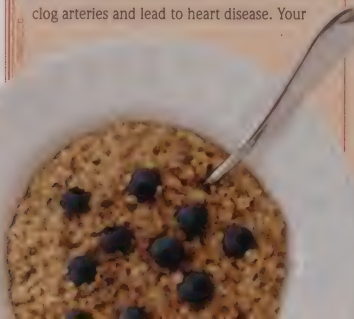
Try it for yourself.

For more information on the Quaker Smart Heart Challenge, call 1-800-770-4091 or visit www.quakeroatmeal.com



*Diet low in saturated fat and cholesterol. Per serving, Quaker Old Fashioned provides 2g of soluble fiber; Quaker Instant and Quaker Oatmeal to Go bars each provide 1g.

every day
should be this good



Why We Need
Romance

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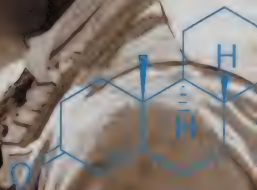
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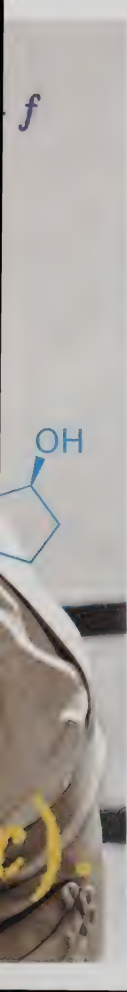
The Science of Romance

Humans do a lot of odd things, but the way we fall in love may be the hardest to explain. Scientists are looking for answers—and finding them

$$j = \sum_{i=1}^3 \frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{x}_i} Q[x_i]$$



$$= \frac{m}{2} \sum_i \dot{x}_i^2 - V(x)$$



f

Why We Love

Breeding is easy, but survival requires romance too. How our brains, bodies and senses help us find it

BY JEFFREY KLUGER

THE LAST TIME YOU HAD SEX, THERE WAS arguably not a thought in your head. O.K., if it was very familiar sex with a very familiar partner, the kind that—truth be told—you probably have most of the time, your mind may have wandered off to such decidedly nonerotic matters as balancing your checkbook or planning your week. If it was the kind of sex you shouldn't have been having in the first place—the kind you were regretting even as it was taking place—you might have already been flashing ahead to the likely consequences. But if it was that kind of sex that's the whole reason you took up having sex in the first place—the out-of-breath, out-of-body, can-you-believe-this-is-actually-happening kind of sex—the rational you had probably taken a powder.

Losing our faculties over a matter like sex ought

not to make much sense for a species like ours that relies on its wits. A savanna full of predators, after all, was not a place to get distracted. But the lure of losing our faculties is one of the things that makes sex thrilling—and one of the very things that keeps the species going. As far as your genes are concerned, your principal job while you're alive is to conceive offspring, bring them to adulthood and then obligingly die so you don't consume resources better spent on the young. Anything that encourages you to breed now and breed plenty gets that job done.

But mating and the rituals surrounding it make us come unhinged in other ways too, ones that are harder to explain by the mere babymaking imperative. There's the transcendent sense of tenderness you feel toward a person who sparks your interest. There's the sublime feeling of relief and reward

when that interest is returned. There are the flowers you buy and the poetry you write and the impulsive trip you make to the other side of the world just so you can spend 48 hours in the presence of a lover who's far away. That's an awful lot of busy-work just to get a sperm to meet an egg—if merely getting a sperm to meet an egg is really all that it's about.

Human beings make a terrible fuss about a lot of things but none more than romance. Eating and drinking are just as important for keeping the species going—more so actually, since a celibate person can at least continue living but a starving person can't. Yet while we may build whole institutions around the simple ritual of eating, it never turns us flat-out nuts. Romance does.

"People compose poetry, novels, sitcoms for love," says Helen Fisher, an anthropologist at Rutgers University and something of the Queen Mum of romance research. "They live for love, die for love, kill for love. It can be stronger than the drive to stay alive."

On its good days (and love has a lot of them), all this seems to make perfect sense.

Nearly 30 years ago, psychologist Elaine Hatfield of the University of Hawaii and sociologist Susan Sprecher now of Illinois State University developed a 15-item questionnaire that ranks people along what the researchers call the passionate-love scale (see box, page 60). Hatfield has administered the test in places as varied as the U.S., Pacific islands, Russia, Mexico, Pakistan and, most recently, India and has found that no matter where she looks, it's impossible to squash love. "It seemed only people in the West were goofy enough to marry for passionate love," she says. "But in all of the cultures I've studied, people love wildly."

What scientists, not to mention the rest of us, want to know is, Why? What makes us go so loony over love? Why would we bother with this elaborate exercise in fan dances and flirtations, winking and signaling, joy and sorrow? "We have only a very limited understanding of what romance is in a scientific sense," admits John Bancroft, emeritus director of the Kinsey Institute in Bloomington, Ind., a place where they know a thing or two about the way human beings pair up. But that limited understanding is expand-

ing. The more scientists look, the more they're able to tease romance apart into its individual strands—the visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, neurochemical processes that make it possible. None of those things may be necessary for simple procreation, but all of them appear essential for something larger. What that something is—and how we achieve it—is only now coming clear.

The Love Hunt

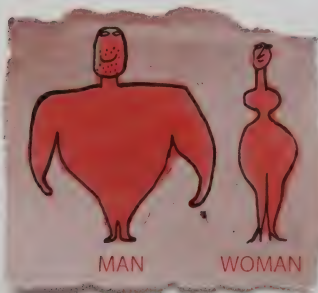
IF HUMAN REPRODUCTIVE BEHAVIOR is a complicated thing, part of the reason is that it's designed to serve two clashing purposes. On the one hand, we're driven to mate a lot. On the other hand, we want to mate well so that our offspring survive. If you're a female, you get only a few rolls of the reproductive dice in a lifetime. If you're a male, your freedom to conceive is limited only by the availability of willing partners, but the demands of providing for too big a brood are a powerful incentive to limit your pairings to the female who will give you just a few strong young. For that reason, no sooner do we reach sexual maturity than we learn to look for signals of good genes and reproductive fitness in potential partners and, importantly, to display them ourselves.

"Every living human is a descendant of a long line of successful maters," says David Buss, an evolutionary psychologist at the University of Texas at Austin. "We've adapted to pick certain types of mates and to fulfill the desires of the opposite sex."

One of the most primal of those desires is that a possible partner smells right. Good smells and bad smells are fundamentally no different from each other; both are merely volatile molecules wafting off an object and providing some clue as to the thing that emitted them. Humans, like all animals, quickly learn to assign values to those scents, recognizing that, say, putrefying flesh can carry disease and thus recoiling from its smell and that warm cookies carry the promise of vanilla, sugar and butter and thus being drawn to them. Other humans carry telltale smells of their own, and those can affect us in equally powerful ways.

The best-known illustration of the invisible influence of scent is the way the menstrual cycles of women who live communally tend to synchronize. In a state of nature, this is a very good idea. It's not in a tribe's or community's interests for one ovulating female to monopolize the reproductive attention of too many males. Better to have all the females become fertile at once and allow the fittest potential mates to compete with one another for them.

But how does one female signal the



Liking What We See—and Hear

We're suckers for a pretty face—and a lot more. Men prefer women with large breasts and a low waist-to-hip ratio, which are seen as signs of fertility. Women like men with muscular shoulders, a broad chest and a full beard. These are signs of strength and a healthy flow of virility-inducing testosterone. Men with deeper voices are perceived as having a high testosterone level and in one study were shown to have more children, suggesting that women respond to the way they sound.

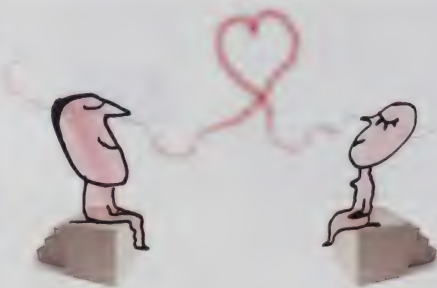
rest? The answer is almost certainly smell. Pheromones—or scent-signaling chemicals—are known to exist among animals, and while scientists have had a hard time unraveling the pheromonal system in humans, they have isolated a few of the compounds. One type, known as driver pheromones, appears to affect the endocrine systems of others. Since the endocrine system plays a critical role in the timing of menstruation, there is at least a strong circumstantial case that the two are linked. “It’s thought that there is a driver female who gives off something that changes the onset of menstruation in the other women,” says chemist Charles Wysocki of the Monell Chemical Senses Center in Philadelphia.

It’s not just women who respond to such olfactory cues. One surprising study published last October in the journal *Evolution and Human Behavior* showed that strippers who are ovulating average \$70 in tips per hour; those who are menstruating make \$35; those who are not ovulating or menstruating make \$50. Other studies suggest that men can react in more romantic ways to olfactory signals. In work conducted by Martie Haselton, an associate professor of psychology at UCLA, women report that when they’re ovulating, their partners are more loving and attentive and, significantly, more jealous of other men. “The men are picking up on something in their partner’s behavior that tells them to do more mate-guarding,” Haselton says.

Scent not only tells males which females are primed to conceive, but it also lets both sexes narrow their choices of potential partners. Among the constellation of genes that control the immune system are those known as the major histocompatibility complex (MHC), which influence tissue rejection. Conceive a child with a person whose MHC is too similar to your own, and the risk increases that the womb will expel the fetus. Find a partner with sufficiently different MHC, and you’re likelier to carry a baby to term.

Studies show that laboratory mice can smell too-similar MHC in the urine of other mice and will avoid mating with those

When women are ovulating, they report that their mates are more loving and attentive and, significantly, more jealous of other men



The Lure of Smell

Like all other animals, we respond to olfactory cues. The menstrual cycles of women living together often synchronize, something that is probably governed by scent. In the same way, men seem able to detect when women are ovulating—and thus are most fertile—and will behave more solicitously toward them during those times. Men and women respond to the scent of each other’s MHC, part of the genetic makeup of the immune system and something that helps determine whether a fetus they might conceive will be carried to term.

individuals. In later work conducted at the University of Bern in Switzerland, human females were asked to smell T-shirts worn by anonymous males and then pick which ones appealed to them. Time and again, they chose the ones worn by men with a safely different MHC. And if the smell of MHC isn’t a deal maker or breaker, the taste is. Saliva also contains the compound, a fact that Haselton believes may partly explain the custom of kissing, particularly those protracted sessions that stop short of intercourse. “Kissing,” she says simply, “might be a taste test.”

Precise as the MHC-detection system is, it can be confounded. One thing that throws us off the scent is the birth-control pill. Women who are on the Pill—which chemically simulates pregnancy—tend to choose wrong in the T-shirt test. When they discontinue the daily hormone dose, the protective smell mechanism kicks back in. “A colleague of mine wonders if the Pill may contribute to divorce,” says Wysocki. “Women pick a husband when they’re on birth control, then quit to have a baby and realize they’ve made a mistake.”

Less surprising than the importance

of the way a partner smells is the way that partner looks and sounds. Humans are suckers for an attractive face and a sexy shape. Men see ample breasts and broad hips as indicators of a woman’s ability to bear and nurse children—though most don’t think about such matters so lucidly. Women see a broad chest and shoulders as a sign of someone who can clobber a steady supply of meat and keep lions away from the cave. And while a hairy chest and a full beard have fallen out of favor in the waxed and buffed 21st century, they are historically—if unconsciously—seen as signs of healthy testosterone flow that gives rise to both fertility and strength.

A deep voice, also testosterone driven, can have similarly seductive power. Psychology professor David Feinberg of McMaster University in Ontario studied Tanzania’s Hadza tribesmen, one of the world’s last hunter-gatherer communities, and found that the richer and lower a man’s voice, the more children he had. Researchers at the University of Albany recently conducted related research in which they had a sample group of 149 volunteers listen to recordings of men’s and women’s

voices and then rate the way they sound on a scale from "very unattractive" to "very attractive." On the whole, the people whose voices scored high on attractiveness also had physical features considered sexually appealing, such as broad shoulders in men and a low waist-to-hip ratio in women. This suggests either that an alluring voice is part of a suite of sexual qualities that come bundled together or that simply knowing you look appealing encourages you to develop a voice to match. Causation and mere correlation often get muddled in studies like this, but either way, a sexy voice at least appears to sell the goods. "It might convey subtle information about body configuration and sexual behavior," says psychologist Gordon Gallup, who co-authored the study.

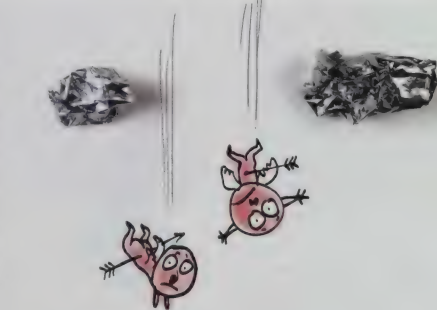
The internal chemical tempest that draws us together hits Category 5 when sex gets involved. If it's easy for a glance to become a kiss and a kiss to become much more, that's because your system is trip-wired to make it hard to turn back once you're aroused. That the kiss is the first snare is no accident.

Not only does kissing serve the utilitarian purpose of providing a sample of *him*, but it also magnifies the other attraction signals—if only as a result of proximity. Scent is amplified up close, as are sounds and breaths and other cues. And none of that begins to touch the tactile experience that was entirely lacking until intimate contact was made. "At the moment of a kiss, there's a rich and complicated exchange of postural, physical and chemical information," says Gallup. "There are hardwired mechanisms that process all this."

What's more, every kiss may also carry a chemical Mickey, slipped in by the male. Though testosterone is found in higher concentrations in men than in women, it is present in both genders and is critical in maintaining arousal states. Traces of testosterone make it into men's saliva, particularly among men who have high blood levels of the hormone to start with, and it's possible that a lot of kissing over a long period may be a way to pass some of that natural aphrodisiac to the woman, increasing her arousal and making her more receptive to even greater intimacy.

When Mating Becomes Love

IF WE'VE SUCCEEDED IN BECOMING SUCH efficient reproductive machines—equipped with both a generous appetite for mates and a cool ability to screen them for genetic qualities—why muddy things up with romance? For one thing, we may not be able to help it. Just being attracted to someone doesn't mean that that person is attracted back, and few things drive us crazier than



When Love Dies

Love is strong, but it's not indestructible. People who meet under the influence of alcohol or drugs or in a state of high excitement may cool off when their bodies return to baseline. Rejection may activate regions of the brain that control addiction, which is why it can be hard to quit someone even after that person has quit you. The spurned lover who grows angry or needy can push the other person even further away, which accelerates the split and may actually help both parties.

wanting something we may not get. Cultural customs that warn against sex on the first date may have emerged for such practical reasons as avoiding pregnancy or sexually transmitted diseases, but they're also there for tactical reasons. Males or females who volunteer their baby-making services too freely may not be offering up very valuable genes. Those who seem more discerning are likelier to be holding a winning genetic hand—and are in a better position to demand one in return.

The elaborate ritual of dating is how this screening takes place. It's when that process pays off—when you finally feel

you've found the right person—that the true-love thrill hits, and studies of the brain with functional magnetic resonance imagers (fMRIs) show why it feels so good. The earliest fMRIs of brains in love were taken in 2000, and they revealed that the sensation of romance is processed in three areas. The first is the ventral tegmental, a clump of tissue in the brain's lower regions, which is the body's central refinery for dopamine. Dopamine does a lot of jobs, but the thing we notice most is that it regulates reward. When you win a hand of poker, it's a dopamine jolt that's responsible for the thrill that follows. When you look forward to a big meal or expect a big raise, it's a steady flow of dopamine that makes the anticipation such a pleasure.

Fisher and her colleagues have conducted recent fMRI scans of people who are not just in love but newly in love and have found that their ventral tegmental areas are working particularly hard. "This little factory near the base of the brain is sending dopamine to higher regions," she says. "It creates craving, motivation, goal-oriented behavior—and ecstasy."

'At the moment of a kiss, there's a rich exchange of postural, physical and chemical information.'

—GORDON GALLUP, PSYCHOLOGIST, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

When Love Becomes a Habit

EVEN WITH ITS INTOXICATING SUPPLY OF dopamine, the ventral tegmental couldn't do the love job on its own. Most people eventually do leave the poker game or the dinner table, after all. Something has to turn the exhilaration of a new partner into what can approach an obsession, and that something is the brain's nucleus accumbens, located slightly higher and farther forward than the ventral tegmental. Thrill signals that start in the lower brain are processed in the nucleus accumbens via not just dopamine but also serotonin and, importantly, oxytocin. If ever there was a substance designed to bind, it's oxytocin.

New mothers are flooded with the stuff during labor and nursing—one reason they connect so ferociously to their babies before they know them as anything more than a squirmy body and a hungry mouth. Live-in fathers whose partners are pregnant experience elevated oxytocin too, a good thing if they're going to stick around through months of gestation and years of child-rearing. So powerful is oxytocin that a stranger who merely walks into its line of fire can suddenly seem appealing.

"In one study, an aide who was not involved with the birth of a baby would stand in a hospital room while the mother was in labor," says Sue Carter, a professor of psychiatry at the University of Illinois. "The mothers later reported that they found the person very sympathetic, even though she was doing nothing at all."

The last major stops for love signals in the brain are the caudate nuclei, a pair of structures on either side of the head, each about the size of a shrimp. It's here that patterns and mundane habits, such as knowing how to type and drive a car, are stored. Motor skills like those can be hard to lose, thanks to the caudate nuclei's indelible memory. Apply the same permanence to love, and it's no wonder that early passion can gel so quickly into enduring commitment. The idea that even one primal part of the brain is involved in processing love would be enough to make the feeling powerful. The fact that three are at work makes that powerful feeling consuming.

Love Gone Wrong

THE PROBLEM WITH ROMANCE IS THAT it doesn't always deliver the goods. For all the joy it promises, it can also play us for fools, particularly when it convinces us that we've found the right person, only to upend our expectations later. Birth-control pills that mask a woman's ability to detect her mate's incompatible MHC are one way bad love can slip past our perimeters. Adrenaline is another. Any overwhelming emotional experience that ratchets up

'Natural opioids get activated, and you think someone made you feel good, but it's your brain that made you feel good.'

—JIM PFAUS, SEX RESEARCHER, CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL

your sensory system can distort your perceptions, persuading you to take a chance on someone you should avoid.

Psychologist Arthur Aron of the State University of New York at Stony Brook says people who meet during a crisis—an emergency landing of their airplane, say—may be much more inclined to believe they've found the person meant for them. "It's not that we fall in love with such people because they're immensely attractive," he says. "It's that they seem immensely attractive because we've fallen in love with them."

If that sounds a lot like what happens when people meet and date under the regu-

lar influence of drugs or alcohol, only to sober up later and wonder what in the world they were thinking, that's because in both cases powerful chemistry is running the show. When hormones and natural opioids get activated, explains psychologist and sex researcher Jim Pfaus of Concordia University in Montreal, you start drawing connections to the person who was present when those good feelings were created. "You think someone made you feel good," Pfaus says, "but really it's your brain that made you feel good."

Of course, even a love fever that's healthily shared breaks eventually, if only because—like any fever—it's unsustainable over time. Fisher sees the dangers of maladaptive love in fMRI studies she's conducting of people who have been rejected by a lover and can't shake the pain. In these subjects, as with all people in love, there is activity in the caudate nucleus, but it's specifically in a part that's adjacent to a brain region associated with addiction. If the two areas indeed overlap, as Fisher suspects, that helps explain why telling a jilted lover that it's time to move on can be fruitless—as fruitless as admonishing a drunk to put a cork in the bottle.



Why We Do It

Nature doesn't really care if we experience the thrill of falling in love or not, but it deeply cares that we make a lot of babies and stick around to raise them. The problem is, human babies require an awful lot of care—18 years or more. When we first reach sexual maturity, we scan the world for people to mate with. When we find someone, romance focuses that scattershot attention. Companionate love then bonds us to our partner for our child-rearing years and beyond.

Happily, romance needn't come to ruin. Even irrational animals like ourselves would have quit trying if the bet didn't pay off sometimes. The eventual goal of an couple is to pass beyond serial dating—beyond even the thrill of early love—and into what's known as companionate love. That's the coffee-and-Sunday-paper phase, the board-games-when-it's-raining phase, and the fact is, there's not a lick of excitement about it. But that, for better or worse, is adaptive too. If partners are going to stay together for the years of care that children require, they need a love that bonds them to each other but without the passion that would be a distraction. As early humans relied more on their brainpower to survive—and the dependency period of babies lengthened to allow for the necessary learning—companionate bonding probably became more pronounced.

That's not to say that people can't stay in love or that those couples who say they still feel romantic after years of being together are imagining things. Aron has

The eventual goal of people who pair-bond is to move beyond the thrill of early love and into the comfort of the Sunday-paper-and-coffee phase

conducted fMRI studies of some of those stubbornly loving pairs, and initial results show that their brains indeed look very much like those of people newly in love, with all the right regions lighting up in all the right ways. "We wondered if they were really feeling these things," Aron says. "But it looks like this is really happening."

These people, however, are the exceptions, and nearly all relationships must settle and cool. That's a hard truth, but it's a comforting one too. Long for the heat of early love if you want, but you'd have to pay for it with the solidity you've built

over the years. "You've got to make a transition to a stabler state," says Barry McCarthy, a psychologist and sex therapist based in Washington. If love can be mundane, that's because sometimes it's meant to be.

Calling something like love mundane, of course, is true only as far as it goes. Survival of a species is a ruthless and reductionist matter, but if staying alive were truly all it was about, might we not have arrived at ways to do it without joy—as we could have developed language without literature, rhythm without song, movement without dance? Romance may be nothing more than reproductive filigree, a bit of decoration that makes us want to perpetuate the species and ensures that we do it right. But nothing could convince a person in love that there isn't something more at work—and the fact is, none of us would want to be convinced. That's a nut science may never fully crack. —REPORTED BY EBEN HARRELL/LONDON, KRISTIN KLOBERDANZ/MODESTO, CALIF., AND KATE STINCHFIELD/NEW YORK

The Thermometer of Love

You can't precisely measure love, but you can't deny that it comes in different temperatures: cool, hot and scalding. Three decades ago, psychologist Elaine Hatfield and sociologist Susan Sprecher devised the Passionate Love Scale, which remains in wide use today. Think of the person you love passionately now or someone you felt that way about in the past. Base your answer on when your feelings were most intense.

For each of the 15 sentences below, choose a number from 1 (not at all true) to 9 (definitely true) that most accurately describes your feelings toward the person you love. Indicate your answer by circling the number in the corresponding row.

1. I would feel deep despair if ____ left me.
2. Sometimes I feel I can't control my thoughts; they are obsessively about ____.
3. I feel happy when I am doing something to make ____ happy.
4. I would rather be with ____ than anyone else.
5. I'd get jealous if I thought ____ were falling in love with someone else.
6. I yearn to know all about ____.
7. I want ____ physically, emotionally, mentally.
8. I have an endless appetite for affection from ____.
9. For me, ____ is the perfect romantic partner.
10. I sense my body responding when ____ touches me.
11. ____ always seems to be on my mind.
12. I want ____ to know me—my thoughts, fears and hopes.
13. I eagerly look for signs indicating ____'s desire for me.
14. I possess a powerful attraction for ____.
15. I get extremely depressed when things don't go right in my relationship with ____.

[illegible]

ADD UP YOUR TOTAL

Your score can range from a minimum of 15 to a maximum of 135. The higher your score, the more your feelings reflect passionate love; the items for which you picked a particularly high number indicate the components of passionate love you experience most

- ☐ card
- ☐ roses
- ☐ chocolates
- ☐ warming



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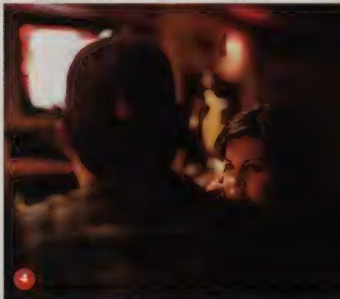
Why We Flirt

That smile! That glance! That rapt attention! We flirt even when we don't need to. And that can be good

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

CONTRARY TO WIDESPREAD BELIEF, ONLY TWO VERY specific types of people flirt: those who are single and those who are married. Single people flirt because, well, they're single and therefore nobody is really contractually obliged to talk to them, sleep with them or scratch that difficult-to-reach part of the back. But married people, they're a tougher puzzle. They've found themselves a suitable—maybe even superior—mate, had a bit of productive fun with the old gametes and ensured that at least some of their genes are carried into the next generation. They've done their duty, evolutionarily speaking. Their genome will survive. Yay them. So for Pete's sake, why do they persist with the game?

And before you claim, whether single or married, that you never flirt, bear in mind that it's not just talk we're dealing with here. It's gestures, stance, eye movement. Notice how you lean forward to the person you're talking to and tip up your heels? Notice the quick little eyebrow raise you make, the sidelong glance coupled with the weak smile you give, the slightly sustained gaze you offer? If you're a woman, do you feel your head tilting to the side a bit, exposing either your soft, sensuous neck or, looking at it another way, your jugular? If you're a guy, are you keeping





A Field Guide to Flirting

Humans observed in a natural mating habitat—here, the Cock and Bull Pub in Los Angeles and Helm's Bakery in neighboring Culver City—exhibit nearly all the major flirting behaviors, whether or not they're flirting at all.

1. OPEN BODY POSITION This come-and-get-me stance suggests the man is neither about to flee nor fight.

2. RAISED EYEBROWS Upon first seeing a potential mate, both men and women often briefly raise their eyebrows.

3. HEAD CANT Women frequently tilt their head to one side, exposing their neck, and sometimes flick their hair at the same time.

4. SUSTAINED EYE CONTACT Men and women both hold the gaze of someone they're interested in for longer than feels quite comfortable.

5. LEANING FORWARD Both genders tend to lean in toward people they're attracted to. Sometimes they'll unconsciously point to them too, even if they're across the room.

6. LEADING QUESTIONS A man will often ask a woman questions that allow her to show off her most attractive features.

7. SIDEWAYS GLANCES Often followed by a glance away or down and a shy smile, these coy looks are a classic flirting behavior for both sexes.

your body in an open, come-on-attack-me position, arms positioned to draw the eye to your impressive lower abdomen?

Scientists call all these little acts "contact-readiness" cues, because they indicate, nonverbally, that you're prepared for physical engagement. (More general body language is known as "nonverbal leakage." Deep in their souls, all scientists are poets.) These cues are a crucial part of what's known in human-ethology circles as the "heterosexual relationship initiation process" and elsewhere, often on the selfsame college campuses, as "coming on to someone." In primal terms, they're physical signals that you don't intend to dominate, nor do you intend to flee—both useful messages potential mates need to send before they can proceed to that awkward talking phase. They're the opening line, so to speak, for the opening line.

One of the reasons we flirt in this way is that we can't help it. We're programmed to do it, whether by biology or culture. The biology part has been investigated by any number of researchers. Ethologist Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, then of the Max Planck Institute in Germany, filmed African tribes in the 1960s and found that the women there did the exact same prolonged stare followed by a head tilt away with a little smile that he saw in America. (The technical name for the head movement is a "cant." Except in this case it's more like "can.")

Evolutionary biologists would suggest that those individuals who executed flirting maneuvers most adeptly were more successful in swiftly finding a mate and reproducing and that the behavior therefore became widespread in all humans. "A lot of people feel flirting is part of the universal

language of how we communicate, especially nonverbally," says Jeffry Simpson, director of the social psychology program at the University of Minnesota.

Simpson is currently studying the roles that attraction and flirting play during different times of a woman's ovulation cycle. His research suggests that women who are ovulating are more attracted to flirty men. "The guys they find appealing tend to have characteristics that are attractive in the short term, which include some flirtatious behaviors," he says. He's not sure why women behave this way, but it follows that men who bed ovulating women have a greater chance of procreating and passing on those flirty genes, which means those babies will have more babies, and so on. Of course, none of this is a conscious choice, just as flirting is not always intentional. "With a lot of it, especially the nonverbal stuff, people may not be fully aware that they're doing it," says Simpson. "You don't see what you look like. People may emit flirtatious cues and not be fully aware of how powerful they are."

Flirting with Intent

WELL, SOME PEOPLE ANYWAY. BUT THEN there are the rest of you. You know who you are. You're the gentleman who delivered my groceries the other day and said we had

Don't try it alone *Psychologists suggest that because flirting in a public place is much safer than in private, people tend to let loose at office parties and in bars*

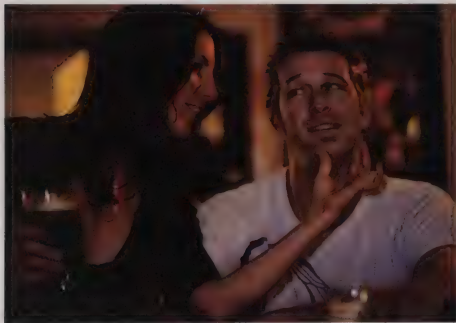
'With a lot of it, especially the nonverbal stuff, people may not be fully aware that they're doing it.'

—JEFFRY SIMPSON, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

a problem because I had to be 21 to receive alcohol. You're me when I told that same man that I liked a guy who knew his way around a dolly. (Lame, I know. I was caught off guard.) You're the fiftysomething guy behind me on the plane before Christmas telling his fortysomething seatmate how sensual her eyes were—actually, I hope you're not, because if so, you're really skeezy. My point is, once you move into the verbal phase of flirtation, it's pretty much all intentional.

And there are some schools of thought that teach there's nothing wrong with that. Flirtation is a game we play, a dance for which everyone knows the moves. "People can flirt outrageously without intending anything," says independent sex researcher Timothy Perper, who has been researching flirting for 30 years. "Flirting captures the interest of the other person and says 'Would you like to play?'" And one of the most exhilarating things about the game is that the normal rules of social interaction are rubberized. Clarity is not the point. "Flirting opens a window of potential. Not yes, not no," says Perper. "So we engage ourselves in this complex game of maybe." The game is not new. The first published guide for how to flirt was written about 2,000 years ago, Perper points out, by a bloke named Ovid. As dating books go, *The Art of Love* leaves more recent publications like *The Layguide: How to Seduce Women More Beautiful Than You Ever Dreamed Possible No Matter What You Look Like* or *How Much You Make* in its dust. And yes, that's a real book.

Once we've learned the game of maybe, it becomes second nature to us. Long after we need to play it, we're still in there swinging (so to speak) because we're better at it than at other games. Flirting sometimes becomes a social fallback position. "We all learn rules for how to behave in certain situations, and this makes it easier for people to know how to act, even when nervous," says Antonia Abbey, a psychology professor at Wayne State University. Just as we learn a kind of script for how to behave in a restaurant or at a business meeting, she suggests, we learn a script for talking



to the opposite sex. "We often enact these scripts without even thinking," she says. "For some women and men, the script may be so well learned that flirting is a comfortable strategy for interacting with others." In other words, when in doubt, we flirt.

The thing that propels many already committed people to ply the art of woo, however, is often not doubt. It's curiosity. Flirting "is a way of testing one's mate-value and the possibility of alternatives—actually trying to see if someone might be available as an alternative," says Arthur Aron, professor of psychology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. To evolutionary biologists, the advantages of this are clear: mates die, offspring die. Flirting is a little like taking out mating insurance.

If worst comes to worst and you don't still have it (and yes, I'm sure you do), the very act of flirting with someone else may bring about renewed attention from your mate, which has advantages all its own. So it's a win-win.

Flirting is also emotional capital to be expended in return for something else. Not usually for money, but for the intangibles—a better table, a juicier cut of meat, the ability to return an unwanted purchase without too many questions. It's a handy social lubricant, reducing the friction of everyday transactions, and closer to a strategically timed tip than a romantic overture. Have you ever met a male hairdresser who wasn't a flirt? Women go to him to look better. So the better they feel when they walk out of his salon, the happier they'll be to go back for a frequent blow-out. Flirting's almost mandatory. And if the hairdresser is gay, so much the better, since the attention is much less likely to be taken as an untoward advance.

It's Dangerous Out There

BUT OUTSIDE THE HAIRDRESSER'S CHAIR, things are not so simple. Flirt the wrong way with the wrong person, and you run the risk of everything from a slap to a sexual-harassment lawsuit. And of course, the American virtue of plainspokenness is not an asset in an activity that is ambiguous by design. Wayne State's

'[Flirting] is a way of testing one's mate-value and the possibility of alternatives.'

—ARTHUR ARON, PSYCHOLOGY PROFESSOR AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT STONY BROOK



Crossed wires Studies have shown that men more often view flirting as indicative of sexual interest, while women see it simply as fun and friendly behavior

Abbey, whose research has focused on the dark side of flirting—when it transmogrifies into harassment, stalking or acquaintance rape—warns that flirting can be treacherous. "Most of the time flirtation desists when one partner doesn't respond positively," she says. "But some people just don't get the message that is being sent, and some ignore it because it isn't what they want to hear."

One of the most fascinating flirting laboratories is the digital world. Here's a venue that is all words and no body language; whether online or in text messages, nuance is almost impossible. And since text and e-mail flirting can be done without having to look people in the eye, and is often done with speed, it is bolder, racier and unimpeded by moments of reflection on whether the message could be misconstrued or is wise to send at all. "Flirt texting is a topic everyone finds fascinating, although not much research is out there yet," says Abbey. But one thing is clear: "People are often more willing to disclose intimate details via the Internet, so the process may escalate more quickly."

That's certainly the case on sites like Yahoo!'s Married and Flirting e-mail group, as well as on *Marriedbutplaying.com* and *Married-but-flirting.com*. "Flirting" in this sense appears to be a euphemism for

talking dirty. A University of Florida study of 86 participants in a chat room published in *Psychology Today* in 2003 found that while nearly all those surveyed felt they were initially simply flirting with a computer, not a real person, almost a third of them eventually had a face-to-face meeting with someone they chatted with. And all but two of the couples who met went on to have an affair. Whether the people who eventually cheated went to the site with the intention of doing so or got drawn in by the fantasy of it all is unclear. Which ever, the sites sure seem like a profitable place for people like the guy behind me on the pre-Christmas flight to hang out.

Most people who flirt—off-line at least—are not looking for an affair. But one of the things that sets married flirting apart from single flirting is that it has a much greater degree of danger and fantasy to it. The stakes are higher and the risk is greater, even if the likelihood of anything happening is slim. But the cocktail is in some cases much headier. It is most commonly the case with affairs, therapists say, that people who cheat are not so much dissatisfied with their spouse as with themselves and the way their lives have turned out. There is little that feels more affirming and revitalizing than having someone fall in love with you. (It follows, then, that there's little that feels less affirming than being cheated on.) Flirting is a decaf affair, a way of feeling more alive, more vital, more desirable without actually endangering the happiness of anyone you love—or the balance of your bank account. So go ahead and flirt, if you can do it responsibly. You might even try it with your spouse.

—REPORTED BY KATE STINCHFIELD ■



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**Humphrey Bogart and
Lauren Bacall**

They were a complex couple with a complex love. "There was no way to predict his reactions, no matter how well I knew him," Bacall mused

Star Pairs

Celebrities in love are just like the rest of us—except in all the ways they aren't. That explains why we can't look away



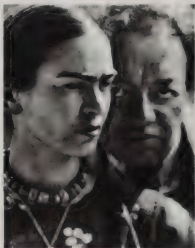
Nancy and Ronald Reagan
"Let's get married," he said one night over dinner at a local hangout, to which she replied simply, "Let's."

BY RICHARD CORLISS

FOR MOST PEOPLE IN THE FIRST half of the past century, marriage was an unbreakable contract; divorce and infidelity offered escape clauses but scandalizing ones. In the rarefied air of celebrity, though, the rules were different. The public gave Hollywood stars (and other famous or notorious folks) permission to fool around, with the proviso that we could watch. Blue noses might tut-tut, but these couplings did carry their own moral. You could say, "At least I'm not like them." Or, "Why can't I be like them?"

For stars, temptation was everywhere. They were beautiful people mixing with others of equal allure. Their job was to sell romance. In what other job did going to work mean kissing? And there was no one to toss a bucket of cold water on their latest mad pash. A few Hollywood couples stayed hitched—Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward, 50 years and counting—but such exemplary marriages had less entertainment value than the connubial career of, say, Elizabeth Taylor, eight times wed and divorced, including two volatile turns with Richard Burton. The melodrama of the actress's life equaled anything she endured onscreen.

Today, marriage is an option, not a life sentence. Contemporary weddings may contain the phrase "I now pronounce thee man and man." We suspect that some celebrities get married only so they can make tabloid headlines with adulterous trysts. The frailty of marriage thus gives a few long-term unions—Dana and Christopher Reeve's, Nancy and Ronald Reagan's—the aura of heroism. They offer one final moral: even the famous can tend to an ailing partner with grace and devotion till death do they part. ■



Elton John and David Furnish They celebrated their civil union, top left, with a lavish \$1.75 million party

John Lennon and Yoko Ono He went from quartet to duo, middle left—and, fans aside, never looked back

Bonnie and Clyde In 1934 a police posse shot down the lovers, bottom left, on the run

Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera Brilliant, volatile—and deeply in love, top center

Hillary and Bill Clinton Their marriage may seem a puzzle, but Hill calls Bill, bottom center, “so romantic.”

Dana and Christopher Reeves Top right, she caught his eye performing cabaret and stayed by him to the end

Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton The two, middle right, famously said “I do”—twice

The Windsors Bottom right, the royals never fully accepted Wallis Simpson



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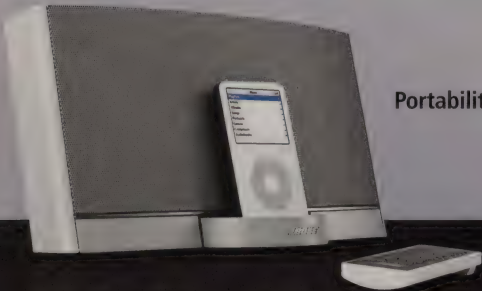
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Evening ease Doug and Naomi Hassebrock of Brooklyn, N.Y., with their baby. Of such quiet moments good health may be made

BY LORI OLIWENSTEIN

MIRIAM KAMIN IS FEELING A lot better now, thank you very much.

It was rough there for a while—infertility, a crippling case of endometriosis, the collapse of her nine-year marriage, and four years of single parenting while building a career as a corporate blogger. Then, last May, she married Mark, a longtime friend. And that, she says, has made all the difference.

"I've struggled with depression for most of my life," she explains. "Yet, despite the fact that I've moved, relocated my kids and am working harder than I have in a very long time, I'm not on medication right now. I had no idea marriage was supposed to be this much fun."

Never mind the popular palaver about a good marriage as a source of bliss for the couple, security for the kids and stability for society. Plenty of spouses—at least after the first wedded year—just come to see it as a whole lot of work. And why shouldn't they? Pair up any two people with often clashing needs, add the pressure-cooker variables of kids, doctor bills, career, housework, car repairs and the fact that someone—he knows who he is—can't pull himself away from the TV during college-basketball season, and there are bound to be problems. Marriage is criticized as a source of stress (and it is), conflict (that too) and endless crises that need to be resolved (guilty there as well).

But it's also something more. Decades of data collection have shown that marriage—for all its challenges—is like a health-insurance policy. A 2006 paper that tracked mortality over an eight-year period found that people who never married were 58% likelier to die during that time than married folks were. And no wonder. Marriage means no more drinking at singles' bars until closing, no more eating uncooked ramen noodles out of the bag and calling it a meal. According to a 2004 report from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), married people are less likely to smoke or drink heavily than people who are single, divorced or widowed. These sorts of lifestyle changes are known to lower rates of cardiovascular disease, cancer and respiratory diseases.



Life partners *Joseph and Carmela Chiappetta married in Rome 42 years ago and live in Brooklyn. Joe is retired; Carmela is a pattern maker for Oscar de la Renta*

And while you might sometimes gripe that your spouse drives you nuts, just the opposite is true. Married people have lower rates of all types of mental illnesses and suicide. And none of that touches the reduced likelihood of contracting sexually transmitted diseases that comes simply from climbing out of the dating pool.

"I clearly recall my then boyfriend and myself watching TV in the early '80s and hearing about AIDS," says psychologist and sex therapist Stephanie Buehler.

"We looked at each other wide-eyed. I don't know that we chose to marry because of this, but it was a factor that pushed us to stay together and remain monogamous."

All the health benefits of marriage are consistent across age, race, education and income groups, and while researchers have not conducted equally exhaustive studies of gay couples, the benefits probably flow to them too. Some of the reasons for this are obvious. Smoking and drinking naturally decline if you've got a spouse at your side flashing you a don't-you-dare look when you reach for a cigarette or a third glass of wine. Depression and other emotional ills are less likely to go undiagnosed if there's someone at home who's mindful of your moods and notices if they darken. But there are other, less self-evident things at work too—things that you didn't realize when you decided to get married and that



THE RESEARCH

Married people live longer and are healthier throughout those extra years

Studies have linked marriage to lower rates of cardiovascular disease, cancer, respiratory disease and mental illness

Marriage helps both spouses cope better with stress, though men benefit more than women

Marriage is fattening, particularly for husbands. Married men are nearly 20% more likely than unmarried men to be overweight

scientists and doctors are only now beginning to appreciate fully.

Marriage on the Brain

FOR ALL THE WATCH-YOUR-CHOLESTEROL lifestyle safeguards spouses erect around each other, much of what makes marriage so healthy for us takes place within our own bodies, entirely without our knowledge. A lot of those benefits come down to stress—or, specifically, the management of it. Stress puts into motion a biological cascade involving hormones, glands and neural circuits, all activating one another in a complex feedback loop. When you are stuck in traffic or overwhelmed at work or worn down by the kids, the hypothalamus—a structure buried deep in the midbrain—tells your adrenal gland to pump out a supply of the stress hormone cortisol. Cortisol, in turn, tells your body

to stop worrying about its basic metabolic needs and instead to “do the things you need to do to save yourself from whatever created the stress,” says University of Virginia neuroscientist James Coan.

That’s great if you’re fleeing an attacking bear, since the things you need to do to save yourself require boosting your heart rate and respiration, tensing your muscles and generally cranking up your body’s alert level. But such an energy-intensive system is designed to be used only in brief bursts; you either escape the bear or you get eaten by it, but either way the crisis ends. The daily stresses of the modern world can throw our bodies into emergency mode and keep us there. That takes a toll through high blood pressure, tension headaches and a lot of gnawed pencils. “If you’re chronically releasing stress hormones, your body starts to fall apart,” says

Coan. “Ultimately, you’re going to live less long—and you’re going to be miserable.”

Being married somehow helps the body circumvent this mess, either by hushing the hypothalamus or reducing cortisol production. Coan and his colleagues conducted an experiment in which married women underwent brain scans using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). During the scans, the women were told they were going to receive a painful electric shock. The researchers then watched to see how the subjects’ brains responded to the threat and found that among happily married women, hypothalamus activity declined sharply if husbands held their wives’ hands during the experiment. Women who reported being less satisfied with their marriage—and women whose hands were held by strangers—got little such relief. “The effect was pretty profound,” says Coan. “It was much stronger than we thought it would be.”

He also found that spousal hand-holding had an effect in an entirely different part of the brain: the right anterior insula, which responds to the threat of pain by calling your attention to the part of your body that’s in danger, increasing the amount of discomfort you ultimately feel. In Coan’s study, the right anterior insula of happily married women stayed relatively quiet. “This suggests,” he says, “that your spouse may function as an analgesic.”

All of this is especially good news for men. A study published in the January 2008 issue of the journal *Health Psychology* showed that while married men get relief from their workday barrage of stress hormones when they come home after a particularly busy day at work—perhaps benefiting from the same marital proximity the women in the fMRI study enjoyed—working women are able to de-stress similarly only if they describe their marriage as a happy one.

There may be a simple explanation for this. “I’m speculating,” says Rena Repetti, a professor of psychology at the University of California, Los Angeles, and one of the authors of the study, “but it may just be that some of these women are coming home and facing dinner prep and assisting the kids with homework, and they’re not getting the help that the more maritally satisfied women are getting.”

The full explanation for this gender gap, however, is undoubtedly more complicated than that. Long-term data from an Israeli study, for example, indicate that the life-lengthening powers of marriage have increased over time—but again, mostly for men. Over nearly two decades, the study found, married men widened the already significant difference in cancer-death incidence between themselves and

unmarried men by 25%; married women gained absolutely zero ground over their unmarried peers. Why this subtle somatic sexism? "This is a gross generalization, but women are really the mental- and physical-health housekeepers for a marriage," says psychologist Janice Kiecolt-Glaser of the Ohio State University College of Medicine. "They are often the ones who prod men to go to a doctor or to eat more healthily."

The stress of a bad marriage can undo much of the good that comes along with a happy one

Miriam Kamin's husband Mark agrees. "As a man, I'm more concerned with making sure the oil has been changed in the last 3,000 miles than with whether I had a physical lately," he says. "Miriam's much more likely to notice something is wrong with me than I am."

When Things Turn Bad

FOR ALL ITS BENEFITS, MARRIAGE IS NOT a gift certificate for good health. For one thing, it's fattening. According to a CDC study of health and marriage, married people, while least likely to be physically inactive, are most likely to be overweight or obese. Married men, in particular, seem to pack on the pounds after they say their vows: they are nearly 20% more likely to be overweight or obese than are men who have never married—perhaps because they simply have someone to sit down to dinner with each night or perhaps because the often empty refrigerator of a onetime bachelor fills up fast when someone is making sure to do the shopping.

Data also show that the stress of a bad marriage can undo much of the good that comes with a happy one. In a series of studies, Kiecolt-Glaser and her husband, immunologist Ronald Glaser, also of the Ohio State University College of Medicine, found that "negative marital interactions," such as arguments, name-calling and nonverbal cues like eye-rolling lead to increases in cortisol and decreases in immune function and even wound-healing. The effects were observed in both sexes, but particularly strongly in women. The eye-rolling studies go even deeper than that, with related research conducted by marital expert John Gottman of the Gottman Institute in Seattle revealing just how sensitive spouses are to such nonverbal signs of disdain or dismissal. Coan, who has col-



For the duration Marine reservist Lance Corporal Branden Correll, who served in Iraq, and his fiancé Ewelina Kotlowska have a baby girl. They plan to wed in August

laborated with Gottman, says: "How often someone rolls their eyes at you can predict how often you need to go to the doctor."

And when the protective bonds of marriage break, watch out. Those supposedly apocryphal tales of spouses who die within days of each other have more than a little truth to them. A 2007 British study found that at any given moment, a bereaved spouse has a greater risk of death from just about any cause (except, oddly, lung cancer) than a still married person. "Over time," says Coan, "your brain becomes used to the other person as part of your emotional-

regulation strategy. You take that person away, and you become what we dryly call dysregulated—weepy, mournful, stay up half the night. This can come from death, divorce, even a long business trip. When those bonds break, it can cause a lot of pain and emotional suffering."

Certainly not all suddenly single spouses are fated to languish this way—no more than all people who never pair off are destined for a shortened life filled with illness and stress. Humans are socially resourceful creatures who build and rebuild networks of relationships, getting the attention, hand-holding and even scolding they need in a lot of different ways. Still, it's hard to argue with an institution that keeps a companion and caretaker constantly nearby, even if now and again—when a wet towel has once again been dropped on the floor or a tube of toothpaste has been squeezed all wrong—we may lose sight of that happy fact. ■

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Are Gay Relationships Different?

Why gay couples have more equality and less tension at home—but still split up more often than straight pairs

BY JOHN CLOUD

MICHAEL AND I HAD BEEN together 7½ years when I moved out in late 2006. We met at a bar just after Christmas 1998; I had seen *Shakespeare in Love* with a couple of friends, and I was feeling amorous, looking for Joseph Fiennes. Michael hit on one of my friends first, but the two didn't click, so Michael settled for me.

That was one of our most reliable stories to tell friends over dinner. It never ceased to get the table laughing. Michael and me most of all, because it was preposterous to think we wouldn't have ended up together. We were so happy, our love unshakable.

I went home with Michael the night we met, and figuratively speaking, I didn't leave again for those 7½ years. The breakup sucked, the more so because it was no one's fault. Our relationship had begun to suffer the inanition of many marriages at seven years. (The seven-year itch isn't a myth; the U.S. Census Bureau says the median duration of first marriages that end in divorce is 7.9 years.) Michael and I loved each other, but slowly—almost imperceptibly at first—we began to realize we were no longer in love. We were

intimate but no longer passionate; we had cats but no kids.

Things drifted for a while. There was some icky couples counseling ("Try a blindfold") and therapeutic spending on vacations, clothes, furniture. We were lost. The night Michael wouldn't stay up to watch *The Office* finale with me, I knew I had to move out. Yes, he was tired, but if he couldn't give me the length of a sitcom—*Jim and Pam are going to kiss!*—then we were really done.

What followed for me, in no meaningful order, was intense exercise and weight loss; fugue states punctuated by light psychotherapy, heavy drinking and moderate drug use; really good sex; Italian classes (where I learned to pronounce *il mio divorzio* perfectly); and marathons of

cooking. I had always enjoyed the kitchen, but now I would make pumpkin ravioli from scratch on Thursday and cook a black bass in parchment on Friday and bake an olive-oil cake on Saturday. The fridge was stuffed; my friends were ecstatic and full. But in the mornings, alone before dawn, a jolt of terror: What had I done?

Finally I started reading the academic research on relationships, which is abundant and, surprisingly, often rigorous. I wondered whether Michael and I could have done more to save our union. What impact had our homosexuality had on the longevity, arc and dissolution of our relationship? Had we given up on each other because we were men or because we were gay? Or neither? Friends offered clichés: Some people just aren't meant for each other. But our straight friends usually stayed married. Why not us?

When I was 13, I secretly read my parents' old copy of Dr. David Reuben's *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex*, first published in 1969. Standing nervously at the bookshelf, I was poised to replace the volume quickly if I heard footsteps. The chapter on homosexuality explained, "The homosexual must constantly search for the one man, the one penis, the one

Straight people prefer less tension in their relationships; gay relationships work better when there are fireworks



experience, that will satisfy him. He is the sexual Diogenes, always looking for the penis that pleases. That is the reason he must change partners endlessly. [In gay marriages] the principals never stop cruising. They may set up housekeeping together, but the parade of penises usually continue *[sic]* unabated ... Mercifully for both of them, the life expectancy of their relationship together is brief." My face went hot with embarrassment.

I know now that the book was blithe and stupid, but I think many people, gay and straight, assume gay men are worse at maintaining relationships than straight

The happy couple

The author and his partner in 2003. Many assume that gay men are worse at maintaining relationships. That's partly true

people are. I needed experts, answers. I was also curious if I should be so upset about my breakup. As a society, we treat single people over 30 with condescension or pity, but maybe the problem was that I had hurtled into a serious relationship too

young. I know that in my 20s I had wanted to impress my family and my heterosexual friends with my stability. Maybe I should have waited.

Research on gay relationships is young. The first study to observe how gays and lesbians interact with their partners during conversations (monitoring facial expressions, vocal tones, emotional displays and physical reactions like changes in heart rate) wasn't published until 2003, even though such studies have long been a staple of hetero-couple research. John Gottman, a renowned couples therapist who was then at the University of Washing-

ton, and Robert Levenson, a psychology professor at the University of California, Berkeley, led a team that evaluated 40 same-sex couples and 40 straight married couples. The psychologists concluded that gays and lesbians are nicer than straight people during arguments with partners: they are significantly less belligerent, less domineering and less fearful. Gays and lesbians also use humor more often when arguing (and lesbians use even more humor than gays, which I hereby dub "the Ellen DeGeneres effect"). The authors concluded that "heterosexual relationships may have a great deal to learn from homosexual relationships."

But Gottman and Levenson also found that when gay men initiate difficult discussions with their partners, the partners are worse than straight or lesbian couples at "repairing"—essentially, making up. Gottman and Levenson suggest that couples therapists should thus focus on helping gay men learn to repair.

The therapist Michael and I hired did not encourage us to repair. She didn't have to. Our relationship had become so etiolated and dull that we didn't even have proper fights. We carried an aura of passivity, and the therapist wanted to see passion. She was smart to ask for it. Gottman, Levenson and their colleagues found that gays and lesbians who exhibit more tension during disagreements are more satisfied with their relationships than those who remain unruffled. For straight people, higher heart rates during squabbles were associated with lower relationship satisfaction. For gays and lesbians, it was just the opposite. Gays conduct their relationships as though they are acting out some cheesy pop song: You have to make my heart beat faster for me to love you. For gays, it is apathy that murders relationships, not tension. Straight people more often prefer a lento placidity.

Why would gays show more beneficence in arguments, do a worse job of repairing after bad fights and find palpitation satisfying? Researchers have long noted that because gender roles are less relevant in gay and lesbian relationships—it's a canard that in most gay couples, one partner plays wife—those relationships are often more equal than heterosexual marriages. Both guys do the dishes; both women grill the steaks. Straight couples often argue along gender lines: the men are at turns angry and distant, the women more prone to lugubrious bursts. Gays and lesbians may be less tetchy during quarrels because they aren't forced into a particular role.

"In heterosexual couples," Levenson says, "men become very sensitive to their

THE RESEARCH

A team of psychologists found that gay and lesbian couples argue less belligerently than straight pairs

They're also more likely to use humor in an argument

The authors wrote that 'heterosexual relationships may have a great deal to learn from homosexual relationships'

Still, gay men are worse at making up after fights, and gays and lesbians split up more often than straight couples

wives' sadness and anger. It's toxic to most straight men and disappointing. They want their wives to idolize them, and they are very, very good anger detectors. And they don't see any of it as funny. In gay couples, there's a sense of 'We're angry, but isn't this funny?'"

No one is sure why gay men are worse at making up after fights, but I have a theory: it's less important for their sex lives. Probably because they don't have women to restrain their evolutionarily male sexual appetites, gay men are more likely than straight and lesbian couples to agree to nonmonogamy, which decreases the stakes for not repairing. And according to a big study from Norway published in *The Journal of Sex Research* in 2006, gay men also consume more porn than everyone else, making them more "partner-independent."

Finally, I think gay and lesbian couples may prefer more heart-racing during conflict because of what happens to gays and lesbians as kids. Although the world is changing—more than 3,700 schools now have student clubs that welcome gays—many gay kids still grow up believing that

what they want is disgusting. They repress for years, and when they finally do have relationships, they need them to carry sufficient drama into those emotional spaces that were empty for so long. Gays need their relationships to scorch.

That's one reason gays and lesbians end relationships sooner than heterosexuals. In a 2004 paper, psychology professor Lawrence Kurdek of Wright State University in Ohio reported that over a 12-year period, 21% of gay and lesbian couples broke up; only 14% of married straight couples did. Too many gay relationships are pulled by the crosscurrents of childhood pain, adult expectation and gay-community pathologies like meth addiction. Kurdek has also found that members of gay and lesbian couples are significantly more self-conscious than straight married people, "perhaps due to their stigmatized status," he writes.

Legalizing same-sex marriage would probably help prolong gay relationships, if only because of the financial and legal benefits married couples enjoy. Federal benefits are unavailable to lesbian and gay couples even in Massachusetts, the only state that allows those couples to obtain marriage licenses. Kurdek says in a 1998 *Journal of Marriage and the Family* paper that even though gay and lesbian relationships end more often than straight marriages, they don't degrade any faster. In other words, it takes squabbling gay and straight couples the same amount of time to enter what is known as "the cascade toward divorce." But straight couples more often find a way to stop the cascade. For gays, breaking up usually means simply moving out, not hiring divorce attorneys.

Today Michael and I are friends. On Christmas Eve, we gathered a group, and I made an enthusiastic attempt at the traditional Italian seven-fishes feast. I'm in better shape now than I was in high school, which fits with psychologist Bella DePaulo's finding (in her fascinating 2006 book on single life, *Singled Out*) that the period around divorce is associated with improvements in health. Divorced men are also, not surprisingly, happier than men stuck in bad marriages.

And yet if ours had been a straight marriage, I have little doubt we would still be together. We had financial security and supportive families. We almost certainly would have had children. This isn't regret—fighting my homosexuality would be like shouting against the rain. But while the researchers are certainly right that straight couples have something to learn from gay couples, I think the inverse is true as well. ■

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Crazy Love

Our partners may be obsessive, possessive, even dangerous. There's a reason we stick around—often at our own peril

BY STEVEN PINKER



WHY DO FOOLS FALL IN LOVE? And when we do fall, why do our faculties of reason—and decency and self-respect and even right and wrong—sometimes not come along? For that matter, why would anyone reciprocate the love of a partner who has come so romantically unhinged?

The thought of a loved one can turn our wits upside down, ratchet up our heart rate, impel us to slay dragons and write corny songs. We may become morose, obsessive, even violent. Lovesickness has been blamed on the moon, on the devil, but whatever is behind it, it doesn't look like the behavior of a rational animal trying to survive and reproduce. But might there be a method to this amorous madness?

During the decades that the concept of human nature was taboo in academia, many scholars claimed that romantic love was a recent social construction. It was an invention of the Hallmark-card poets or Hollywood scriptwriters or, in one theory, medieval troubadours extolling the adulterous love of a knight for a lady.

For anyone who has been under love's spell, these theories seem preposterous, and so they are. Nothing so primal could have been created out of thin air as a mere custom or product. To the contrary, romantic love is a human universal. In 1896 a Kwakiutl Indian in southern Alaska wrote the lament "Fire runs through my body—the pain of loving you," which could be the title of a

bad power ballad today. Similar outpourings of passion can be found all over the world from those with broken hearts.

Romantic infatuation is different from both raw lust and the enduring commitment that keeps lovers together long after their besottedness has faded. We all know the symptoms: idealized thoughts of the loved one; swings of mood from ecstasy to despair, insomnia and anorexia; and the intense need for signs of reciprocation. Even the brain chemistry is different: lust is fueled (in both sexes) by testosterone, and companionate love by vasopressin and oxytocin. Romantic passion taps the same dopamine system that is engaged by other obsessive drives like drug addiction.

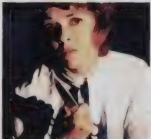
For all this, there may be a paradoxical logic to romantic love. Imagine a world without it, a world of rational shoppers looking for the best available mate. Unsentimental social scientists and veterans of the singles scene know that this world is not entirely unlike our own. People shop for the most desirable person who will accept them, and that is why most marriages pair a bride and a groom of roughly equal desirability. The 10s marry the 10s, the 9s marry the 9s and so on. That is exactly what should happen in a marketplace where you want the best price you can get (the other person) for the goods you're offering (you).

But we also know this isn't the whole picture. Most daters find themselves at some point with a match who ought to be perfect but with whom for some reason the chemistry isn't there. Why do the principles of smart shopping give us only the rough statistics of mate choice, not the final pick?

The reason is that smart shopping isn't enough; both parties have to close the deal. Somewhere in this world lives the best-looking, richest, smartest person who would settle for you. But this ideal match is hard to find, and you may die single if you insist on waiting for such a mate to show up. So you choose to set up house with the best person you have found so far.

Your mate has gone through the same reasoning, which leaves you both vulnerable. The law of averages says that someday one of you will meet an even more desirable person; maybe a newly single Brad Pitt or Angelina Jolie will move in next door. If you are always going for the best you can get, at that point you will dump your partner pronto. But your partner would have invested time, child rearing and forgone opportunities in the relationship by that point. Anticipating this, your mate would have been foolish to enter the relationship in the first place, and the same is true for you. In this world of rational actors, neither of you could thus take the chance on the other. What could make you trust the

Movie Madness



Don't go there *Bad lovers come in many forms in film: loony (Fatal Attraction), furry (King Kong), ill clad (Basic Instinct), scheming (Vertigo) or loony—again (Play Misty for Me)*

other person enough to make that leap?

One answer is, Don't accept a partner who wanted you for rational reasons to begin with. Look for someone who is emotionally committed to you because you are you. If the emotion moving that person is not triggered by your objective mate value, that emotion will not be alienated by someone who comes along with greater mate value than yours. And there should be signals that the emotion is not faked, showing that the person's behavior is under the control of the involuntary parts of the brain—the ones in charge of heart rate, breathing, skin flushing and so on. Does this emotion sound familiar?

This explanation of infatuation was devised by the economist Robert Frank on the basis of the work of Nobel laureate Thomas Schelling. Social life is a series of

The dark side of romance: threats, like promises, must be backed up by signs of commitment

promises, threats and bargains; in those games it sometimes pays to sacrifice your self-interest and control. An eco-protester who handcuffs himself to a tree guarantees that his threat to impede the logger is credible. The prospective home buyer who makes an unrecoverable deposit guarantees that her promise to buy the house is credible. And suitors who are uncontrollably smitten are in effect guaranteeing that their pledge of love is credible.

And this gets us to the dark side of romance. Threats, no less than promises, must be backed up by signs of commitment. A desperate lover in danger of being abandoned may resort to threatening his wife or girlfriend (yes, his; it's usually a man). The best way to prevent her from calling his bluff is in fact not to bluff—to be the kind of hothead who is crazy enough to do it. Of course, if he does make good on the threat, everyone loses (which is why the judicial system must make good on its threat to punish violent thugs).

This perverse logic of promises and threats lies behind the observation on romance offered by George Bernard Shaw: "When we want to read of the deeds that are done for love, whither do we turn? To the murder column." ■

Pinker is the Johnstone Professor of Psychology at Harvard University and the author, most recently, of The Stuff of Thought: Language as a Window into Human Nature



Will you be my wife?

4 POSTSCRIPT: His girlfriend was always the photographer. But not this time. On Nov. 5, 2005, he asked her to look for a surprise inside the drawer of a small table. While she rifled through the drawer, he got down on one knee beside her. When she finally found this Polaroid, he had the ring waiting. She looked up from the picture, and he asked her to marry him. She said yes.

Phoebe
I love you and
I AMIGHT MARRY
YOU! Jacob



4 POSTSCRIPT: Jacob was 5 when he wrote this. He's now 7, and Phoebe is 6. So far, they remain single.



IN A HOLLYWOOD romance, you can always tell when someone's tumbling into love: the music builds, the camera closes in, and the beautiful people get a beautiful

look in their eyes.

Up here in the cheap seats, it rarely happens that way. Who, after all, can pinpoint the precise moment when love begins? For most of us, love builds subtly over time, on a foundation of shared laughs, intimate moments and, often, love letters. And not necessarily swooping fountain-pen declarations of adoration either. More likely it's a few words scratched out on a Post-it, a postcard or a While You Were Out pad.

The notes you see here, collected from people all over the country, offer a glimpse of something we seldom see: an honest record of life's most candid, emotional moments. The fascination in reading them isn't just voyeurism. Sample someone else's tender sentiments, and it's hard not to recall your own.

You asked me to "give you a little something?" Well here it is: I'm giving you half my heart. I wanted to give it to you today—even though I'm spacy, a little bit sore in all the good places and still have absolutely no saliva—because it's what I feel and I know it's "real." I also know that tonight will be hard for you, and that there will be harder times to come for both of us. But right now, I just want you to know that last night was totally off-the-charts incredible for me in the most surprising and profound ways. Even as I write this, I can feel my heart (the other half) twinge and my skin tingle (those frissons again) when I think about how strangely, wonderfully comfortable I felt with you...so close, so calm, just lying there in the pre-dawn delirium, softly touching, bodies entangled. I want to use the word intimacy even though I know the professionals will say it can't be so because it's not a "real" relationship. All I know is that being with you was amazing. You're amazing. Really.

Oh, and as for the other half of my heart, I'm going to hang on to it and try to keep it in a safe place for a while. Maybe you'll let me know, someday, if you want it. And maybe, someday, I'll give it to you.



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Love Letters

A peek at what real people write when they're falling in love

DEAR BEAUTIFUL

11/19/02

CAN YOU BELIEVE ITS BEEN 2 MONTHS
SINCE I FIRST SET EYES ON YOU. FROM THAT
DAY FORWARD MY LIFE HAS NOT BEEN
THE SAME.

ITS AMAZING THAT EVERY MOMENT
WE'RE TOGETHER SURPASSES THE LAST.
I CANT WAIT TO SEE WHAT THE FUTURE
BRINGS

Truly Yours
Pete D.

NEW YORK

SEND ME THE ADDRESS IN THE ADDRESS

New York loves you!
and misses you!

and wishes you were
here!

oh no wait, thats me!
heres the key.

love you
Linda



4 POSTSCRIPT: It was another blind date; this time her uncle had set her up. The plan: meet outside her fancy midtown Manhattan office building. How would she recognize him? "I'll be the guy with the hole in his boot," he told her. And there he was, covered in dust from his construction job, with a big hole in his frayed boot. What was supposed to be one drink turned into two... then a ride on the Ferris wheel in Toys "R" Us... then dinner. He wrote her this note exactly two months after their first date, delivering it rolled up and tied with string, along with two red roses. They were married in 2006.

2/26/98

Anna,

I figured there had to be
something 'auspicious' about your
first birthday as my wife, but
I couldn't quite figure it out.

That is, until I thought about how
for every birthday of yours hereafter,
I will be next to you celebrating
it—as we grow older together in love.

Yours,

Arthur

Yes, I'm that girl. The one who waits for the Hallmark
holiday to tell the guy she's crazy about the things she
wants to tell him every day, but can't get him to stay
awake long enough to tell him. Never in a million years
would I have thought that the painfully resmating "you on the
other end of the line would belong to the person who I now
can't imagine being without. Without you, I'd have no one
to lean on, no one to show me the true importance
of having a recipe, no one to make me laugh, make me
giddy and make me fat. No one to challenge what I say,
question what I believe and encourage me to stand up
for myself. You mean so much to me... I'm insanely crazy
about you, well except when you use that forbidden phrase -
then I'm only a little crazy about you. I got butterflies
the first time you kissed me, and they have it yome away. I hope
they never do. Love Person

POSTSCRIPT: The couple
met on JDate. Her note was
written one morning when he
had to leave for work and she
stayed in his bed. She knew
this note would make him
smile when he returned
that night. She was
right, and they've
been married for
more than two
years.

I
love
you,
Gary
Larry



WEB DATING, INTERNATIONALLY

With \$629 million in U.S. revenues, online matchmakers in America are looking to fast-growing markets like China and India

We Just Clicked

Online matchmaking sites in the U.S. are eyeing millions of singles in China, India and beyond. Will love translate?

BY LISA TAKEUCHI CULLEN AND COCO MASTERS

AT THE GLOBAL HEADQUARTERS of eHarmony in Pasadena, Calif., one blue wall is papered with testimonies of love: snapshots of couples who met on the Internet matchmaking site and subsequently got hitched. There are older couples, military couples, kissing couples, couples with physical disabilities, couples dressed in wedding whites. Soon, if all goes as planned, there will be Chinese couples, Indian couples, European couples, many dressed in the brilliant matrimonial hues of their cultures. They're going to need a new wall.

Once a practice as provincial as it was personal, the art of pairing up people for marriage has become an increasingly international and technology-driven business. As young people all over the world move far from home for school and work, even those from traditionbound cultures can no longer rely solely on the resources of crafty aunts to find them suitable mates. Enter the Internet, where



A match made in heaven.com
Young Chinese couples like this one, who met on Jiayuan.com, may soon appear on eHarmony's wall, right

marriage and dating sites began to appear a decade ago and have multiplied rapidly over the past several years. In the U.S. alone, there are close to 1,000 such sites, led by Match.com, eHarmony and Yahoo! Personals. The industry rang up \$649 million in revenues in 2006, according to Jupiter Research, a market-research firm. With growth slowing in the U.S., Web matchmaking giants are eyeing fertile potential markets such as China and India. But an international match presents hurdles in business as in love: differing societal attitudes, wily competition and cultural quirks to bewilder the most sophisticated suitor. Love, it turns out, isn't the same in every language—not even close.

Love is, however, a lucrative and recession-proof business, and that makes translating it worth the effort. As far back as the Paleolithic era, arranged marriages served to forge networks between family groups, writes Stephanie Coontz in *Marriage, a History*. Families



exchanged daughters and sons for labor, land, goods and status. These matches were so important that, in almost every society, a community member eventually set up shop in setting up unions; in northern India, it was the barber's wife, the *nayan*. "Be a matchmaker once," goes the Chinese saying, "and you can eat for three years."

In the U.S., matchmaking took off as an industry only in this decade, with the arrival of Internet dating sites. Suspicion and disdain eased into acceptance as more Americans found a partner—or at least a date and not a nut—on the sites. Of the 92 million unmarried Americans 18 and older counted by the Census last year, about 16 million have tried online dating, according to the Pew Internet & American Life Project. In 2003 online daters increased 77%. With sites charging \$35 a month on average, revenues popped accordingly. Growth has ebbed of late to about 10% a year, say analysts, partly because of the competing popularity of social-networking sites. You can flirt on Facebook too—and for free.

If a country with little tradition of matchmaking can embrace a version of it online, then it follows that cultures long used to a third party's hand in love affairs would do the same. That's what many Western companies seem to believe anyway, judging by their expansion strategies. Match.com, the leading online dating site in the U.S., began exploiting first-mover advantage through international acquisitions in 2002. Now in 35 countries, the Dallas-based company says 30% of its 1.3 million members live outside the U.S., accounting for 30% of its \$350 million 2007 revenues (the bulk of its 15 million members just browse for free).

But it has learned along the way that its model does not always translate. On Match, users post personal profiles and photos, attracting and perusing potential mates in what resembles a colossal bar scene. While many Americans like the freedom and convenience, single women in Japan felt threatened by the lack of privacy. Plus, parts of the profiles weren't culturally appropriate, as Match CEO Thomas Enrighth-Moony learned over lunch in a Tokyo restaurant with his country manager. "He pointed to the women there and said, 'We really don't need to ask for hair color. We all have the same,'" says Enrighth-Moony. In Scandinavia, on the other hand, the 2.2 million Web-savvy singles were long used to dating online. To differentiate itself from local competitors when it launched there in 2003, Match toned down its window-shopping aspect

Chemistry Test

More online dating sites feature personality tests. Anthropologist Helen Fisher came up with 56 questions for Chemistry.com that allow users to be divided into four categories

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

Which image most closely matches your right hand?



Testosterone lengthens the fourth digit while you're still in the womb. The longer your ring finger in relation to your pointing finger, the more likely you are to have skills in math, music or mechanics.

If you were the publisher and had to choose a title for this book, what would it be?



Adventures on the Rhine
Anatomy of Friendship
Power Plays
Things Left Unsaid

If you selected the first title, you're probably an Explorer; second, a Builder; third, a Director; fourth, a Negotiator.

THE CATEGORIES

The results of the questionnaire sound a bit like astrology, but most people find that a combination of two categories does describe them.

THE EXPLORER You enjoy risk-taking and novelty-seeking. You are creative, irreverent and restless.

THE BUILDER You're calm, sociable, popular, conscientious, dutiful, loyal, persistent, conventional, traditional and good at management.

THE NEGOTIATOR You're imaginative, intuitive, holistic, nurturing, compassionate and verbal. You generally see the big picture and have good people skills.

THE DIRECTOR You excel at math and have mechanical and design skills. You are direct, decisive, musical, logical, analytical and not especially emotionally expressive.

and played up the promise of long-term love. "The dream here is not to marry a millionaire prince," says Johan Siwers, vice president of Northern Europe. "The dream is to live a good life in the countryside and be happy." Match now rules the Scandinavian market, with 1.5 million members.

One way U.S. online matchmakers seek to set themselves apart from local competitors is science. Match hired Rutgers University anthropologist Helen Fisher to devise a compatibility test for a spin-off called Chemistry.com. As Chemistry prepares to launch abroad, Fisher is confident that the test—56 questions that place users in four temperament categories—is applicable to any culture (see box, left). The societal trends that drive online matchmaking in the U.S. apply in much of the world, after all: women going to work, young people migrating far from home and, perhaps most important, a newly pervasive insistence on love as an essential ingredient of marriage. Fisher cites a study that asked 10,000 people of 36 cultures about their No. 1 criterion for marriage. "Everywhere, the answer was love," she says.

That bodes well for the international hopes of eHarmony, the leader among compatibility-focused sites in the U.S. Started in 2000 by Neil Clark Warren, the folksy clinical psychologist who starred in the company's ads, eHarmony poses 436 questions to users in order to find them the best match. It has since accrued 17 million members, 230 employees, \$200 million in annual revenues and 30% yearly growth. That's not to mention marriages at a rate of 90 a day, unions that so far have produced 100,000 children (a disproportionate number of them named Harmony).

But rather than dive quickly into promising markets, eHarmony has remained devoted—some would say slavishly—to its research-based model. In China, that means commissioning researchers at Beijing University to find out whether its model—in which 29 "dimensions" such as humor and spirituality are mined for compatibility—applies to the culture. Kaiping Peng, a professor of psychology at the University of California, Berkeley, who is assisting eHarmony, is unsure. "What is the best match might not be about matching exactly," he says. "Maybe it's complementary—like the yin and the yang." Americans are drawn to eHarmony's deeply probing questionnaires because as a culture we seek to know ourselves. "That probably is not necessarily the teachings of Asian philosophies and religions. Buddha used to



Perfect fit Indian matchmaking site BharatMatrimony paired up the couples at left and below. Ten million people have signed up for the site's services



Amor Like this couple in Spain, above, 30% of Match.com's paying members live overseas



Still searching Many of the 2 million marriage-age singles in Beijing, like Beth Li, left, 25, have tried online matchmakers



talk about diminishing self—don't look at yourself, look at others for information and for guidance."

Perhaps those cultural differences explain why no Western company has yet won the Chinese single's hand. And what a hand: 46% of those 35 and younger are unmarried, according to a university study, and that percentage is increasing. Sixty million Internet users are of marrying age, according to Shanghai-based market-research company iResearch, a population that will grow about 20% a year, to 128 million in 2010. In Beijing alone, there are more than 2 million marriage-age singles. Local competition is rife. Chinese matchmaking sites had 14 million registered users in 2006, a number iResearch says will triple by 2010.

China should be a natural haven for online matchmaking. Up until a century ago, marriage-registration forms required the seal of an "introducer." Young, educated professionals seem open-minded. Even today, the off-line matchmaking business remains robust; there are a reported 20,000 agencies, many run by local governments and bearing such dreamy names as the

Beijing Military and Civilian Matchmaking Service and the Tianjin Municipal Trade Union Matchmakers' Association. The imbalance of genders brought on by the single-child rule (many parents opted to keep only a male baby) has also led to a desperate demand for matchmakers among rural men, opening the door to unscrupulous brokers who con women into unions.

Western online matchmakers, however, do face challenges in gaining a foothold in the Chinese matchmaking market. Of the 14 million Chinese Internet daters, only 500,000 pay subscription fees; thus industry revenues are estimated at just \$24 million, according to iResearch. Paying users are expected to rocket to 3 million by 2010, generating sales of at least \$160 million. But fees are minimal compared with the \$59 per month charged by the likes of eHarmony. "In China, if you charge money, you'll die fast," says Gong Haiyan, CEO and founder of the leading Web dating site, Jiayuan (formerly Love21cn). Chinese sites rely instead on online advertising and ticket sales from events such as speed-dating mixers that

charge about \$13 for admission (parents who tag along have to pay too). Another popular dating site, 915915.com.cn—in Chinese, the numbers sound like "only want me"—set up a "love cruise" in 2006 on the Huangpu River near Shanghai to introduce men worth at least 2 million yuan (\$274,000) to attractive women. Edward Chiu, CEO of ChinaLoveLinks, says his free websites steer users to his 30 off-line matchmaking offices, where they can pay fees totaling up to \$6,000. Both eHarmony and Match say they have yet to decide how to adjust their subscription-based models to the market.

Like China, India has a long history of and cultural comfort with matchmaking; as many as 90% of weddings are arranged, says Patricia Oberoi, a Delhi-based sociologist. There are 60 million singles ages 20 to 34, and 71% believe arranged marriages are more successful than "love" marriages. But with so many moving to cities or even abroad—up to a third of the population, according to the latest census—the Internet is proving preferable to the services of the village *nayan*. So-called matrimonial sites first appeared 10 years ago and today make up half the world's matchmaking sites. Like U.S. sites, they offer free viewing but charge about \$40 to subscribe for three months. BharatMatrimony, a leading site, claims 10 million members and, in its 10 years, a million marriages. Another, named Shaadi, boasts 800,000 matches. Industry growth in India could be even more explosive than in China; users have doubled every year. Sales are growing 50% annually and reached \$30 million in 2006. "Online matrimony has become a mainstream activity, like checking e-mail," says Uday Zokarkar, business head of BharatMatrimony.

Partly because India's matrimonial sites have already succeeded in wooing the nation, Western companies have hesitated at the door. "India is a very different business, and we just haven't got there yet," says Match's Enraght-Moony. For instance, sites there make matches on the basis of factors unfamiliar to outsiders, including caste, language and "character"—a euphemism for chastity. About 15% of profiles are filled in not by the prospective bride or groom but by their parents. And now Indian sites are challenging Western matchmaking companies on their own turf. Shaadi CEO Vibhas Mehta says 30% of its business comes from the U.S., Europe, Australia and the Middle East. Perhaps love needs no translation after all. —WITH REPORTING BY LING WOO LIU/HONG KONG AND MADHUR SINGH/DELHI ■



Chimpanzees These primates would much rather find love in short-term bonds than take the plunge. Lovers groom each other, kiss, make up after fights and can even take mini-vacations together. What's more, bonobos, close cousins of chimps, mate face-to-face.

BY CAROLYN SAYRE

BEFORE ADOLESCENT CRUSHES BECAME widely known as puppy love, people had another name for them: calf love. That may be just a metaphor, but it could also have been the start of a theory that some scientists now believe to be true: in their own way, animals feel love.

It's not a secret that all sorts of critters display elaborate courtship rituals. But the capacity to woo a mate is hardly the same as the capacity to love a mate. Nonetheless, chimps appear to feel sorrow and glee; elephants appear to grieve their dead. Couldn't animals feel romance as well? They could and—to hear at least some scientists tell it—they do.

"They don't write each other love letters," says Helen Fisher, an anthropologist at Rutgers University and author of *Why We Love*. "But animals can definitely feel romantic love." What's more, say Fisher and others, love exists not just among complex animals like higher mammals but also among those we think of as little more than a collection of behaviors. And indeed, from affectionate kisses to romantic getaways to monogamous relationships, the wild does appear to be a surprisingly cuddly place. ■

Burying Beetles Love knows no intelligence. Burying beetles—so named because they bury the remains of small animals to use as food—may mate for life. They cooperate to raise their young, looking out for them even after they've hatched. They may not have glamorous lives, but they build a nice family.



Bowerbirds Money can't buy love, but among bowerbirds, real estate sure can. To attract a partner, a male creates an ornate structure, known as a bower, out of sticks, moss and other objects as a home for his potentially lifelong companion. Some males even use chewed-up berries to paint a bower's walls.

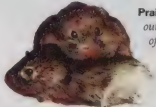
Wildly in Love

Humans aren't alone. Romance appears to roam among animals too

White-Fronted Parrots Known for their elaborate displays of public affection, these parrot pairs are often spotted engaging in open-beak kissing. The Mexican and Central American natives form a lifelong bond with their mate and share the responsibility of caring for younglings. Like bereft widowed humans, some parrots will die shortly after their partner does.



Prairie Voles You won't find these rodents out on the prowl after a breakup. As one of the few mammals to display what scientists call social monogamy, they typically refuse to find another companion after a partner dies or otherwise goes missing.



Tit Monkeys Commitment doesn't scare them. Unlike most of their fellow primates, nearly 99% of these South American natives establish lifelong bonds with a partner. In a show of their unyielding affection, the tiny monkeys may sleep together on a tree branch with their long tails intertwined.

Red Foxes Seemingly monogamous for at least part of the year, they often display affection by nipping, nuzzling and chasing their mate. Males and females care for their young together.



Emperor Penguins Their love may last only one season, but it endures all manner of things. Separated for months at a time, the birds can pick out their mate among thousands of others.



Elephants Males can become so lovesick during courtship that they simply stop eating. Females are more levelheaded, at least when it comes to sex. They choose lovers wisely, typically waiting four years to mate.



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Setting the limits Even in adolescence, girls are the social architects and rulemakers. Boys initiate contact—and hope for the best

Young Love

Romance is a grand pageant. Your debut may not come until you're in your teens, but you spend a childhood rehearsing

BY TIFFANY SHARPLES

THERE'S A VERY THIN LINE between being thrilled and being terrified, and Candice Feiring saw both emotions on her son's face. The sixth-grader had just gotten off the phone with a girl in his class who called to ask if he'd like to go to the movies—just the two of them. It sounded a whole lot like a date to him. "Don't I have something to do tomorrow?" he asked his mother. A psychologist and an editor of *The Development of Romantic Relationships in Adolescence*, Feiring was uniquely prepared to field that question and give her son the answer that, for now, he needed. "I think you're too young to go out one-on-one," she said. His face broke into a relieved grin.

A year later, even a month later, Feiring's adolescent son might have reacted very differently to being told he was not ready to date. That moment-to-moment mutability of his interest in—never mind his readiness for—courtship is only one tiny part of the exhilarating, exhausting, confounding path all humans travel as they make their halting way into the world of love. From the moment we're born—when the world is mostly sensation, and nothing much matters beyond a full belly, a warm embrace and a clean diaper—until we finally emerge into adulthood and understand the rich mix of tactile, sexual and emotional experiences that come with loving another adult, we are in a constant state of learning and rehearsing. Along with language, romance may be one of the hardest skills we'll ever be called on to acquire. But while we're more or less fluent in speech by the time we're 5, romance takes a lot longer. Most Western romance research involves Western cultures, where things may move at a very different pace from that of, say, the Far East or the Muslim world. While not all of the studies yield universal truths, they all suggest that people are wired to pick up their love skills in very specific stages.

Infancy and Babyhood

BABIES MAY NOT HAVE MUCH TO DO RIGHT after they're born, but the stakes are vitally high that they do it right. One of the first skills newborns must learn is how to woo the adults in their world. "For a baby, literally you're going to be dead without

love, so getting people around you to love you is a really good strategy," says Alison Gopnik, a cognitive psychologist at the University of California, Berkeley.

Babies do this much the way adults do: by flirting. Within a couple of months, infants may move and coo, bob and blink in concert with anyone who's paying attention to them. Smiling is a critical and cleverly timed part of this phase. Babies usually manage a first smile by the time they're 6 weeks old, which, coincidentally or not, is about the time the novelty of a newborn has worn off and sleep-deprived parents are craving some peace. A smile can be a powerful way to win them back.

Even before we know how to turn on the charm, touch and chemistry are bonding us firmly to our parents—and bonding them to us. Oxytocin—a hormone sometimes called the cuddle chemical—surges in new mothers and, to a lesser extent, in new fathers, making their baby instantly irresistible to them. One thing grownups



Learning to Love

AGES 0 TO 2

Within the first months of life, babies already know how to flirt—a survival mechanism to encourage their caretakers to love and protect them. Getting that protection teaches the quid pro quo of love.

AGES 3 TO 6

During this period children are very expressive of their love for their parents, often demonstrating affection in a physical or even vaguely sexual way. They also begin exploring the contours of their bodies.

AGES 7 TO 12

Boys begin testing the limits of sexually explicit language and conversation. Girls remain more focused on romance. Fantasies are a big part—often the only part—of both sexes' romantic worlds.

AGES 13 TO 18

Kids make the transition from single-sex social groups to mixed-sex ones. Adolescents take first steps toward sexual and romantic behavior. By late adolescence, more serious romances develop.



Cuddling up First friendships with the other sex are unconscious, providing an opportunity to rehearse romance through play

Wary approach

Far left: early curiosity gives way to ambivalent contact like teasing, which leads to greater ease and attraction



Fools for love

When real romance finally arrives, kids can better deal with the consuming focus on the partner who comes with it

particularly can't resist doing is picking a baby up, and that too is a key to survival. "Babies need physical contact with human hands to grow and thrive," says Lisa Diamond, a psychologist at the University of Utah. Years of data have shown that premature babies who are regularly touched fare much better than those who aren't.

As babies seduce and adults respond, a sophisticated dynamic develops. Mothers learn to synch their behavior with their newborn's, so that they offer a smile when their baby smiles, food when their baby's hungry. That's a pleasingly reciprocal deal, and while adults are already aware that when you give pleasure and comfort, you get it in return, it's news for the baby. "Babies are building up ideas about how close relationships work," says Gopnik.

Toddlerhood and Preschool

WHEN KIDS REACH 2, MOM AND DAD AREN'T paying quite the same attention they used to. You feed yourself, you play on your

own, you get held less often. That's not to say you need your parents less—and you're not shy about letting them know it. Children from ages 2 to 5 have yet to develop what's known as a theory of mind—the understanding that other people have hidden thoughts that are different from yours and that you can conceal your thoughts too. Without that knowledge, kids conceal nothing. "They love you," says Gopnik, "and they really, really express it."

At the same time, kids are learning something about sensual pleasures. They explore their bodies more, discovering that certain areas yield more electrifying feelings than others. This simultaneous emotional development and physical experience can lead to surprising behavior. "Three- and 4-year-olds are very sexual beings," says Gopnik, "and a lot of that is directed at their parents." Some of this can get generalized to other adults too, as when a small child develops a crush on a teacher or seems to flirt with an aunt or uncle.

While a number of things are at work when this happens, the most important is playacting and the valuable rehearsal for later life it provides. "Kids are trying to play out a set of roles and be more like adults," says psychologist Andrew Collins of the University of Minnesota's Institute of Child Development.

The same kind of training behavior can show up with playmates and friends, often accompanied by unexpectedly powerful feelings. Social psychologist Elaine Hatfield of the University of Hawaii is best known for co-creating the Passionate Love Scale, a questionnaire with which she can gauge feelings of romantic connectedness in adults. She has modified the test to elicit similar information from children. In early work, she studied 114 boys and 122 girls, some as young as 4, presenting them with statements like "I am always thinking about _____" or "I would rather be with _____ than anybody else." The kids filled in the name of someone they loved, and Hatfield asked them to rate the intensity of feelings with stacks of checkers: the higher the stack, the more they felt. In some instances, the kids became overwhelmed with emotion, as in the case of a 5-year-old girl who wept at the thought of a boy she would never see again. "Little kids fall in love too," Hatfield says plainly.

School Age and Puberty

AS WITH SO MUCH ELSE IN CHILDHOOD, things get more complicated once kids reach the social incubator of elementary school. Nowhere near sexually mature, they nonetheless become sexually active—in their own fashion. The opposite-sex teasing and chasing that are rife on playgrounds may give teachers headaches, but they teach boys and girls a lot. The games, after all, are about pursuit and emotional arousal, two critical elements of sex. "There are a lot of erotic forms of play," says Barrie Thorne, a sociologist at the University of California, Berkeley, and the author of *Gender Play: Boys and Girls in School*. "It can be titillating, and it may involve sexual meaning, but it comes and goes."

More enduring—for a while at least—is the gender segregation that begins at this age. Boys and girls who once played in mixed groups at school begin to drift apart into single-sex camps, drawing social boundaries that will stay in place for years. In her 1986 study that is still cited today, Thorne looked at 802 elementary-school students from California and Massachusetts to determine just what goes on behind these gender fortifications and why they're established in the first place.

To no one's surprise, both groups spend a lot of time talking and think-

ing about the opposite sex, but they do it in very different ways. Boys experiment more with sexually explicit vocabulary and, later, sexual fantasies. Girls focus more heavily—but hardly exclusively—on romantic fantasies. The two-gender world they'll eventually re-enter will be a lot more complex than that, but for now, the boys are simply practicing being boys—albeit in a very rudimentary way—and the girls are practicing being girls. "Among the boys, for example, there's a lot of bragging talk," says Thorne. "You're supposed to be powerful and not vulnerable."

When puberty hits, the wall between the worlds begins to crumble—a bit. Surging hormones make the opposite sex irresistible, but the rapprochement happens collectively, with single-gender groups beginning to merge into co-ed social circles within which individual boys and girls can flirt and experiment. Generally, kids who pair off with a love interest and begin dating will hold onto a return ticket to the mixed-gender group. Jennifer Connolly, a psychologist at York University in Toronto, studied 174 high school students in grades nine to 11 and found that when things go awry with couples, the kids are quickly absorbed back into the co-ed circle, with the old single-sex group increasingly eclipsed. "Once the progression has started," Connolly says, "we don't see kids retreating back into only same-gender interaction."

Almost all of these early relationships are, not surprisingly, short-lived—and a good thing too. If the purpose is to pick a mate for life, you're hardly likely to find a suitable one on your very first go. What's more, even if you did get lucky, you'd almost certainly not have the emotional wherewithal to keep the relationship going. Adults often lament the love they had and lost in high school and wonder what would have happened if they had met just a few years later. But the only way to acquire the skills to conduct a lifetime relationship is to practice on ones you may destroy in the process. "Kids don't really have a sense of working to preserve a relationship," Connolly says. "Adolescence is a time for experimentation."

Sexual experimentation is a big part of that—and it's a part that's especially fraught. Pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases are just two of the things that make sex perilous. There are also emotional conflicts kids bring into their early experiences with intimacy. Psychologists have long warned that children who grow up in a hostile home or one in which warmth is withheld are likelier to start having sex earlier and engage in it more frequently. In a study that will be published in March, Trish Williams, a neuropsychology fellow



The model for mates Even as they grow, girls may retain some adoration for Dad, and boys for Mom. Parents help shape what you seek in partners

at Alberta Children's Hospital, studied a group of 1,959 kids ages 11 to 13 and did find a striking correlation between a volatile home and earlier sexual behavior. A few of the children had had intercourse at as young an age as 12, and while the number of sexually active kids wasn't high—just 2% of the total—the cause was clear. "Hostile parenting is highly associated with problem behavior," says Williams.

Even kids without such emotional scarring can be pretty underscrutinizing in their sexual choices. Two studies conducted by sociologist Wendy Manning in 2005 and 2006 showed that while 75% of kids have their first sexual experience with a partner they're dating—a figure that may bring at least some comfort to worried parents—more than 60% will eventually have sex with someone with

whom they're not in any kind of meaningful dating relationship. Hooking up—very informal sex between two people with no intent of pursuing a deeper relationship—takes this casualness even further. A 2004 study Manning worked on showed that the overwhelming majority of hookups involve alcohol use—an impairer of sexual judgment if ever there was one—and according to the work of other researchers, more than half the times kids hook up, they do not use a condom. Manning's studies suggest that hooking up prevents kids from practicing the interpersonal skills they'll need in a permanent relationship and may lead to lowered expectations of what those relationships should be like—and a greater willingness to settle for less.

For all these perils, the fact is, most people manage to shake off even such high-stakes behavior and find a satisfying life partner, and that says something about the resilience of humans as romantic creatures. In the U.S., by the time we're 18, about 80% of us have had at least one meaningful romantic relationship. As adults, up to 75% of us marry. Certainly, nature doesn't make things easy. From babyhood on, it equips us with the tools we'll need for the hardest social role we'll ever play—the role of romantic—and then chooses the moment when we're drunk on the hormones of adolescence and least confident in ourselves to push us on stage to perform. That we go on at all is a mark of our courage. That we learn the part so well is a mark of how much is at stake. —WITH REPORTING BY KRISTIN KLOBERDANZ/ MODESTO, CALIF. ■

Along with language, romance may be one of the hardest skills we'll ever be called on to acquire

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Romance Is An Illusion

Could something that feels so real be a mere trick of the mind? Sure, when the survival of the species is at stake

BY CARL ZIMMER

THERE'S NOTHING LIKE BEING IN love. Minutes seem to creep and fly at the same time. We get lost on the way home, thinking of the next date. Music cries out to us alone, and the full moon winks our way. Long after other memories fade, the recollection of love lingers. It's pure magic. Or at least that's what we like to tell ourselves.

For all the advances scientists are making deciphering the biology of love—for all the circuitry appearing in brain scans and the chemistry emerging in blood and scent studies—we still want to believe that science will never tame romance. We're sure that it will always remain utterly separate from the cells and organs and reflexes that biologists study. And indeed, how could anything that so moves us to poetry and song be so reducible to behavior and chemicals?

Charles Darwin started wrestling with questions like this when he published his 1871 book *The Descent of Man*. Darwin granted that his readers might doubt that humans evolved from an ancestral ape. "Man differs so greatly in his mental power from all other animals, there must be some error in this conclusion," he wrote. But he argued that the difference between us and other animals was of degree, not of kind. That applied not just to our teeth and toes but also to our morals and minds. And even, he declared, to love.

Over the past 137 years, scientists have learned again and again the value of Darwin's perspective. One of the best ways to appreciate what it means to be human is to learn about how human abilities came to be. No other species uses full-blown language, for example. But animal communication is surprisingly complex. Primates in particular are able to do a lot of the mental tasks that are essential to grasping language. Regions of the brain once considered language centers have been discovered in monkeys; instead of handling language, they control mouth movements. Geneticists in recent years have found human genes essential to language; if turns out that similar versions of the same genes make communication possible in other animals, from squeaking mice to shrieking bats.

This doesn't mean that baboons or bats can write like James Joyce. But scientists have identified a lot of common raw material that we all started out with.

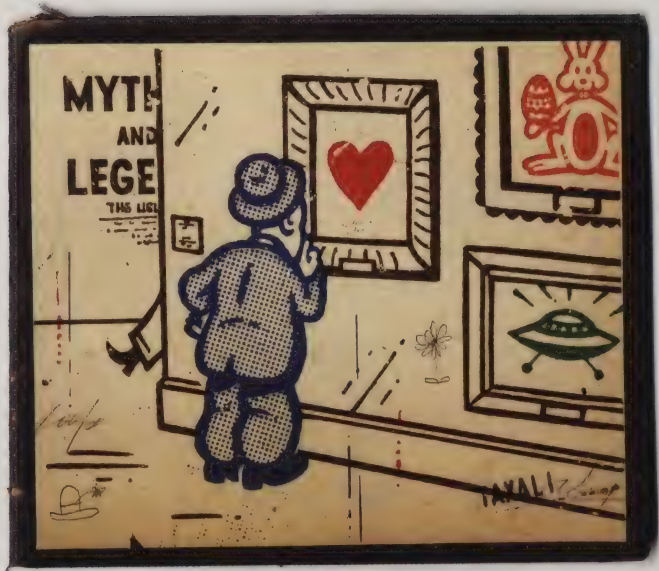
For all we've learned about the biology of love, we still want to believe that science won't tame romance

What makes us different is the peculiar evolutionary history our ancestors experienced as they adapted to life as savanna-wandering hunter-gatherers.

Man is a rational animal, Aristotle declared, but experiments have demonstrated that reason is not a gift of our species alone. Last December, researchers reported that monkeys were almost as good as college students at arithmetic (at least when the arithmetic involved adding dots on a screen). And our rationality is not a smooth machinelike intelligence but a complicated landscape of strengths and weaknesses. We're good at solving reasoning problems if they're presented as social puzzles. We don't do as well if the same problems are expressed in the abstract language of logic. A number of researchers argue that the results emerge from our evolution as social creatures, not logicians.

Humans were once thought the only toolmaking animals—until scientists noticed that chimpanzees and other apes could fashion sticks and rocks into tools too. A type of crow can make probes from sticks and use them in clever ways as well, even pushing one stick with another or inserting twigs into holes to collect bugs.

Another species of bird, the scrub jay, has challenged our supposedly unique gift of foresight. Scrub jays like to store food, and they remember thousands of different hiding places. Studies have shown that



they make a special point of tucking food away when they expect they'll need it the next day. What makes the time-traveling and toolmaking of birds all the more impressive is that, unlike apes and monkeys, they don't share a close evolutionary history with us. They evolved these supposedly human features on a line parallel to the one we traveled—essentially developing the skills a second time over.

There are reasons to conclude that romance as well was shaped by the unsentimental hand of evolution. We humans don't have a monopoly on oxytocin and other molecules linked to feeling in love. Love may switch on reward pathways in our brains, but other animals have similar—if simpler—reward pathways too.

Martie Haselton, a psychologist at UCLA, is exploring the forces that may have shaped those more primal attributes into modern love. She believes it all comes down to the long-term health of children.

Romantic love is a 'commitment device.' It all comes down to the welfare of the children

Haselton calls romantic love a "commitment device," a mechanism that encourages two humans to form a lasting bond. Those bonds help ensure that children survive to reproductive age, getting fed and cared for by two parents rather than one. "Natural selection has built love to make us feel romantic," she says.

In her experiments, Haselton finds evidence for love as an adaptation. She and her colleagues have people think about how much they love someone and then try to suppress thoughts of other attrac-

tive people. They then have the same people think about how much they sexually desire those same partners and then try again to suppress thoughts about others. It turns out that love does a much better job of pushing out those rivals than sex does. Haselton argues that this effect is exactly what you'd expect if sex was a drive to reproduce and love was a drive to form a long-term commitment.

This sort of research does not degrade love any more than understanding optics degrades a sunset. Just because romance has an evolutionary history doesn't mean it's identical to what other animals experience. Our ancestors branched off from the other apes several million years ago and have taken their own evolutionary journey since. Falling in love may be natural, but that doesn't mean it's not exceptional. ■

Zimmer is the author of Evolution: The Triumph of an Idea, among other books



'My love for you is more/ athletic than a verb.'

SYLVIA PLATH,
poet and writer

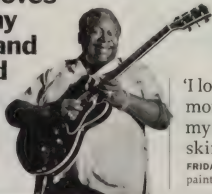
'Love ceases to be a pleasure, when it ceases to be a secret.'

APHRA BEHN, writer
and dramatist



'Nobody loves me but my mother, and she could be jiving too.'

B.B. KING,
blues musician



'I love you more than my own skin.'

FRIDA KAHLO,
painter

'Many a man in love with a dimple makes the mistake of marrying the whole girl.'

STEPHEN LEACOCK, humorist and economist



'Romance without finance ain't got no chance.'

CHARLIE PARKER, jazz musician



'Take me or leave me; or, as is the usual order of things, both.'

DOROTHY PARKER, poet and writer

'Everything we do in life is based on fear, especially love.'

MEL BROOKS, filmmaker

'Many a man has fallen in love with a girl in a light so dim he would not have chosen a suit by it.'

MAURICE CHEVALIER, actor and singer



'Of all forms of caution, caution in love is perhaps the most fatal to true happiness.'

BERTRAND RUSSELL, philosopher and writer

'Now hatred is by far the longest pleasure; men love in haste, but they detest at leisure.'

LORD BYRON, poet

'If love is the answer, could you rephrase the question?'


LILY TOMLIN, comedian and actress



Love Lines

'And in the end, the love you take is equal to the love you make.'

THE BEATLES



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INFORMATION FOR PATIENTS TAKING AMBIEN CR

Your doctor has prescribed Ambien CR to help you sleep. The following information is intended to guide you in the safe use of this medicine. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about Ambien CR tablets be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Ambien CR is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as:

- trouble falling asleep
 - waking up often during the night
- Some people may have more than one of these problems.

Ambien CR belongs to a group of medicines known as the "sedative/hypnotics," or simply, sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Sleep problems are usually temporary, requiring treatment for only a short time, usually 1 or 2 days up to 1 or 2 weeks. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

SIDE EFFECTS

Most common side effects:

- headache
- somnolence (sleepiness)
- dizziness

You may find that these medicines make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of Ambien CR that is best for you.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine until you know whether the medicine will still have some carryover effect in your next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- NEVER drink alcohol while you are being treated with Ambien CR or any sleep medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking Ambien CR.
- Always take the exact dose of Ambien CR prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

SPECIAL CONCERNS

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

"Sleep-Driving" and other complex behaviors: There have been reports of people getting out of bed after taking a sleep medicine and driving their cars while not fully awake, often with no memory of the event. If you experience such an event, it should be reported to your doctor immediately, since "sleep-driving" can be dangerous. This behavior is more likely to occur when Ambien CR is taken with alcohol or other drugs such as those for the treatment of depression or anxiety. Other complex behaviors such as preparing and eating food, making phone calls, or having sex have been reported in people who are not fully awake after taking a sleep medicine. As with "sleep-driving," people usually do not remember these events.

Memory problems: Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine.

Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia."

Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems. Although memory problems are not very common while taking Ambien CR, in most instances, they can be avoided if you take Ambien CR only when you are able to get a full night's sleep (7 to 8 hours) before you need to be active again.

Tolerance: When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness to help you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Sleep medicines should, in most cases, be used only for short periods of time, such as 1 or 2 days and generally no longer than 1 or 2 weeks. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

Dependence: Sleep medicines can cause dependence, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Some people develop a need to continue taking their medicines. This is known as dependence or "addiction."

When people develop dependence, they may have difficulty stopping the sleep medicine. If the medicine is suddenly stopped, the body is not able to function normally and unpleasant symptoms may occur (see **Withdrawal**). They may find that they have to keep taking the medicines either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawal symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks.

If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting Ambien CR or any sleep medicine.

Withdrawal: Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two.

In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

Changes in behavior and thinking: Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- confusion
- strange behavior
- agitation
- hallucinations
- worsening of depression
- suicidal thoughts

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used.

It is also important to realize that it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, an illness, or occur on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to illnesses that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

Pregnancy: Sleep medicines may cause sedation of the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy.

Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking Ambien CR.

SAFE USE OF SLEEPING MEDICINES

To ensure the safe and effective use of Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:

1. Ambien CR is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take Ambien CR. Ambien CR tablets should not be divided, crushed, or chewed, and must be swallowed whole.
2. Never use Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
3. If you develop an allergic reaction such as rash, hives, shortness of breath or swelling of your tongue or throat when using Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, discontinue Ambien CR or other sleep medicine immediately and contact your doctor.
4. If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
5. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. DO NOT use alcohol while taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
6. Do not take Ambien CR unless you are able to get a full night's sleep before you must be active again. For example, Ambien CR should not be taken on an overnight airplane flight of less than 7 to 8 hours since "traveler's amnesia" may occur.
7. Do not increase the prescribed dose of Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
8. When you first start taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some carryover effect in your next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
9. Be aware that you may have more sleep problems the first night after stopping Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
10. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
11. As with all prescription medicines, never share Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine in the original container that you received it in and store it out of reach of children.
12. Ambien CR works very quickly. You should only take Ambien CR right before going to bed and are ready to go to sleep.

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Life

LIVING RELIGION GOING GREEN

FASHION

Downsizing Style. Why kids are the latest consumers of pricey designer clothing and accessories

Sacred Harp is one of the most democratic choral forms: no audience, no real conductor—just people addressing one another and God

—DAVID VAN BIEMA, RELIGION, PAGE 100

BY KATE BETTS

WALK INTO MARC JACOBS' NEWEST RETAIL outpost in Manhattan's West Village, and you're likely to see eager shoppers snapping up his signature thermal-style cashmere sweaters, brass-buttoned military jackets and floral-print peasant blouses. As for the must-have accessories? They might pick up a few stuffed animals or a baby blanket or two. These days Jacobs' trendy customers are as aware of the fashion image of their offspring as they are of their own. Thus they are flocking to the hip designer's Little Marc boutique, which opened in November.

Like many high-end European and American designers, Jacobs is cashing in on the growing demand for chic clothing for the stroller and grade-school sets. The concurrent trends of older moms

Little Miss Runway Sales are booming for cutting-edge styles, like this Marc Jacobs outfit



and dads and an increase in dual-income families mean that many boomer parents are not only richer but also ready to spend lavishly on their little darlings. The same people who casually shell out \$800 for a Bugaboo stroller don't flinch at a \$300 Little Marc cashmere sweater. As a result, sales of infant and toddler clothing have soared. In 2006 they spiked to \$33.3 billion, 8.4% over the previous year—outpacing the adult-apparel market—according to the NPD Group, a market-research firm based in Port Washington, N.Y. And for 2007, sales are expected to increase to \$44 billion.

The concept of designer clothing for children is not entirely new. More traditional brands like Polo Ralph Lauren and Tommy Hilfiger have been in the business for years. But more recently, fashion-forward labels, better known for their \$2,000 handbags and red-carpet-worthy frocks, are starting to take a closer look at the kindergarten crowd. "So many of our friends started having babies, and they asked us for thermal cashmere sweaters for their kids," says Robert Duffy, president of Marc Jacobs International. "We started making a few items and selling them in our stores." The items became so popular that Duffy signed a licensing deal with French children's-wear manu-

facturer Zannier Group and last spring launched a full line, including hoody sweatshirts, graphic Ts, jeans and sweaters for kids ages 0 to 12. Jacobs and Duffy plan to open Little Marc stores this year in Los Angeles and Las Vegas.

European high-fashion brands like Dolce & Gabbana, Chloé, Missoni and Marni all sell miniature versions of their adult ready-to-wear pieces. Come summer, Alberta Ferretti, known for her flirty chif-

fodders, who will presumably outgrow them in a matter of months.

Marshal Cohen of NPD Group says two factors are pushing the market up: parents are expressing their own status by outfitting their kids, and today's kids, raised in a culture in which tweens dream of dressing like the fashionistas on *Gossip Girl*, are more clothes-conscious than ever and influence their parents' purchasing decisions. "As early as age 6, kids are getting more and more involved in choosing the products, including what they wear," says Cohen. "And the fact that you can't tell them what to wear is really driving the market."

"Kids are more sophisticated about fashion now," says Gela Nash-Taylor, who along with Pamela Skaist-Levy launched Juicy Couture Kids in the spring of 2002. "Fashion is a major part of how they express themselves. It's a huge part of their culture, and boomer moms definitely want the very best for their kids."

Celebrity moms want the best for their kids too, and the fact that Shiloh Jolie-Pitt and Suri Cruise turn up in paparazzi photos sporting the latest Lit'l Ernie jeans or Burberry dresses can only boost the trend. The next growth spurt? Get ready for celebrity designed children's wear to jump into the playpen. ■

'Kids are more sophisticated about fashion now. It's a huge part of their culture.'

—GELA NASH-TAYLOR, JUICY COUTURE

fon dresses, will launch Alberta Ferretti Girls through a licensing deal with Grant SpA, a manufacturer that also produces Moschino's children's line. Meanwhile, bad-boy British designer John Galliano has teamed up with Italian manufacturer Diesel to launch a pint-size collection next fall. Premium denim brands are rushing into this market too. High-end department stores like Barneys and specialty shops like Fred Segal sell \$150 Antik Denim, 7 for All Mankind and Rock & Republic jeans for

Cute and Chic. A sampling of the spring 2008 designer styles for little fashionistas



\$225

Linen and cotton belted Safari dress

D&G JUNIOR

What Dolce & Gabbana's children's version of its D&G line, which was introduced in 2004

Where Available at D&G boutiques and specialty stores like Piccolino in Beverly Hills, Calif.



\$98

Cropped, ruffle-front cardigan

JUICY COUTURE KIDS

What Line launched in 2002 because adult customers were asking for "mini me" styles

Where Sold at Juicy Couture boutiques and in department stores like Bloomingdale's and Saks



\$99

Button-down cotton surf shirt

LITTLE MARC

What A Marc Jacobs-designed clothing line for kids ages 0 to 12, started in spring 2007

Where Sold at Little Marc stores, department stores and specialty stores like Scoop NYC



Not so candid camera Vaz, left, paid for a media entourage to follow him and his fiancé and create a faux tabloid, below, as a souvenir of the event

LIVING

Your Own Personal Paparazzi. Want to feel like a celebrity? Just hire people to follow and photograph you for a night

BY JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN

STRUAN VAZ AND PAIGE HILL EMERGED from a performance of the *Nutcracker* by Ballet Austin last month and were assaulted by photographers and reporters who pursued them for several blocks, snapping shots and asking personal questions. Amid the blinding flashbulbs and rapid-fire interrogation, the pair held their composure, but the attention overwhelmed them a little. "A couple of times, Paige tried to run away," says Tania Cowher, one of the paparazzi on the scene that night in the Texas capital, "so we ran along with her." They chased the couple all the way to the nightclub Qua, where Vaz and Hill were met by a crowd of adoring fans.

All the hoopla on the street and at the

bar confused passersby, some of whom took pics of the action with their camera phones, while others asked the couple, both 30, who they were. "We were like, 'We're nobody,'" Vaz says. Actually, Vaz is a high-tech entrepreneur, and Hill works on a city councilwoman's re-election campaign, but in terms of celebrity status, even locally, they are indeed "nobody." Vaz, as a surprise for his fiancé, had hired Celeb 4 A Day, which provides personal paparazzi to private individuals who want to experience some of the trappings of fame. (Friends played the fans for free.)

Even as real celebrities battle those pesky cameramen on the streets and in courts for intruding on their lives and trading on their images, some regular folks, from parents hosting teen birthday

parties to Gen Xers out on the town, have decided that the attention could be fun—and worth paying up to \$1,500 for. Cowher launched Celeb 4 A Day in Austin in November and is expanding to Los Angeles this month and San Francisco in February. There are similar companies, like Private Paparazzi in San Diego and Personal Paparazzi in Britain, and wannabe big shots in other places have taken matters into their own hands, hiring freelance photographers to trail them.

The trend is driven by the twin obsessions with chronicling one's life and experiencing fame. "We live in a culture where if it's not documented, it doesn't exist," says Josh Gamson, a University of San Francisco professor of sociology who studies culture and mass media. "And if you don't have people asking who you are, you're nobody." University of Pennsylvania sociologist David Grazian, who wrote *On the Make: The Hustle of Urban Nightlife*, calls personal paparazzi reality marketers, who make the act of being photographed more meaningful than the actual photos. "The goal isn't to produce a product," he says. "It's to heighten the experience of the event. In that sense, there doesn't even need

'We got in [to clubs] faster. People thought, These guys are important.'

—PHILLIP BARKER, ON HIS NIGHT OUT WITH A PAPARAZZO

to be any film in the camera."

Phillip Barker agrees that a photographer is a powerful status symbol, even if it's also an indulgence in narcissism. Barker, 29, posted an ad on Craigslist for a paparazzo to accompany him and 14 male friends during a bar-hopping birthday party in Chicago last November. Many of the responses were hostile ("You vain vain [expletive]," one read), but a woman, Mandy Johnston, took the job—delivering to the guys afterward an elaborate package of digital photos and prints and, during the evening, unexpected VIP stature: the crew skipped to the front of the line at several clubs. "We got in faster because of Mandy. People thought, These guys are important people," Barker says. He's considering hiring her again, perhaps for his upcoming 30th birthday weekend in Key West, Fla. "Celebrities are always whining about people following them around," he says. "We're like, Are you kidding? That's our dream!"

The Price of Fame

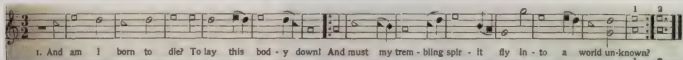
You can place a want ad for a paparazzo and negotiate the fee. But Celeb 4 A Day offers aspiring vixens three options:

\$249 The A-List Package. Three paparazzi pestering you for 10 min. and a glossy cover of the fake MyStar magazine. (Vaz bought this package)

\$599 The SuperStar Package. Four paparazzi asking questions and taking pics for an hour, limo service to and from your event, a glossy cover of MyStar magazine and a CD containing five high-resolution photos

\$1,499 The Megastar Package. Six paparazzi for two hours, a publicist to tell them to stop bothering you, a bodyguard to protect you from the crowd, limo service, a glossy MyStar magazine cover and a CD containing 10 photos





The unique notation features squares, circles and triangles

RELIGION

Give Me That Old-Time Singing. Once America's most popular religious music, Sacred Harp is being revived by urban hipsters



A girl takes a turn leading a Sacred Harp group in Tennessee in 1949

BY DAVID VAN BIEMA

ONE SATURDAY IN JANUARY, a well-dressed man strolling Manhattan's recently gentrified Lower East Side unexpectedly found his way blocked by 35 people singing on the sidewalk. The lyrics were somber—"Then shall the dust return ... to God who gave it"—but the delivery was joyful. Asked what he thought was going on, he ventured, "I dunno. A funeral?"

Actually, it was a resurrection. The singers—housewives, ex-punks, Evangelicals, atheists, Jews and Buddhists waiting for their usual venue above a local bar to open—were devotees of a Christian four-part choral style called Sacred Harp (the name refers to the human voice and a songbook published in 1844). Once America's dominant religious music, it was eclipsed after the Civil War. By 1960, say scholars, as few as 1,000 people clustered in the Deep South knew the style.

Yet today there are some 20,000 devotees across the country singing songs like *Pisgah* and *Weeping Sinners*. The website fasola.org lists a "singing" near you on almost any weekend. A documentary, *Awake My Soul: The Story of the Sacred Harp*, is airing on more

than 120 public TV stations, and an album is in the works featuring alt-folk god Sufjan Stevens, alt-country hero Jim Lauderdale and (!) Led Zeppelin's John Paul Jones.

This kind of thing has precedent. In 1997 the album *The Buena Vista Social Club* hit big with a sound defunct even in its native Cuba. In 2000 the old-timey twang of the Coen Brothers' film *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* grabbed a handful of Grammys. How do you revive an art form? A few hints:

Be weird—but worthy. Nothing is weirder than Sacred Harp. Its favored subject matter—the pilgrim, the grave, Christ's blood—is stark; its style—severe fourths and otherworldly open fifths—has been obsolete for more than a century. Its notation, in which triangles, circles and squares indicate pitch, looks like cuneiform. Yet it exudes

power and integrity. Five people sound like a choir; a dozen like a hundred. It is one of the most democratic choral forms: no audience, no permanent conductor—just people addressing one another and God.

Get Lomaxed. Almost every revived American folk-music form was once recorded for the Library of Congress by



Fans include punk-folk band Cordelia's Dad

musicologist Alan Lomax. He taped Sacred Harp in 1942 and '59. Unlike other finds such as Leadbelly, it failed to spark during the 1960s folk revival, but musicologists were infected. Now the form had imitable LPs and an academic beachhead.



Groups like this one in Manhattan meet regularly



Attract hip advocates. In the early 1990s, punk rockers, says singer Tim Eriksen, "were looking for that kind of intensity in other music." Eriksen's band, Cordelia's Dad, and other postpunks seized Sacred Harp and exported it to trendsetting places from Northampton, Mass., to Portland, Ore.

Score a patriarchal blessing. Bob Dylan made a pilgrimage to Woody Guthrie. Decades later, Southern Sacred Harp royalty generously embraced the wild-eyed newcomers—many of whom were nonbelievers—in what *Awake My Soul* co-director Matt Hinton calls "red-state, blue-state harmony."

Procure product placement. T Bone Burnett, who shaped the sound of *O Brother, Where Art Thou?*, did the same on Anthony Minghella's Civil War film *Cold Mountain*. Minghella hired Eriksen to sing a non-Harp song but was lured to Harp mecca Henagar, Ala. One result, *Idumea*, plays hauntingly over a battle scene—and won a new batch of fans. "I went in because of Jude Law but left with Sacred Harp," says New Yorker Anna Hendrick, 22.

After 45 minutes on the sidewalk, Hendrick and the other Manhattan harpers move inside and dig in. Singings can last two days. Today the group logs just three hours. "Join in a song in sweet accord," advised one of the afternoon's tunes. And so they did. ■

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Bryan Walsh

A New Blueprint for Levittown

It was America's original suburb. Now it is aiming to become a model of environmental innovation



THE BLUEPRINT FOR the postwar American way of life was written in the culs-de-sac of new developments like Levittown, N.Y., the Long Island community that calls itself the country's first suburb.

Beginning in 1947, developer Bill Levitt's armies of builders churned out house after house, transforming a bare potato field into a centrally planned town that today is home to 53,000 people. Low cost and low-interest loans enabled the working class to flee dense cities for the new suburbs, while cheap cars and cheaper gasoline supported their long commutes to urban workplaces. Three-bedroom houses, two cars in the driveway? The suburbs were about having more, and more became the American Dream.

But that manifestation of the American Dream came at a cost: soaring energy use, which is higher per capita in the U.S. than in almost any other country. "What is causing global warming is the lifestyle of the American middle class," says Miami-based architect Andres Duany, a longtime proponent of sustainable design.

That makes what is happening in Levittown today so important. County officials, along with environmentalists and local businesses, recently launched the Green Levittown program, which aims to persuade residents to upgrade their homes, improving energy efficiency and cutting fuel bills. Volunteers signed up to canvass Levittown's 17,000 homes starting Jan. 15. Their mission is to introduce the program and offer to schedule an energy audit (approximately \$300) that can identify cost-effective renovations. Those who choose to participate—replacing an inefficient hot-water boiler, adding solar thermal power—can finance the upgrades with reduced-interest loans

offered by a local credit union. "For all the attention paid to global warming in the media or internationally, this will be something to show to actual people that they can make a difference in their own lives," says county executive Tom Suozzi.

Given that many houses date back to Levittown's creation more than 60 years ago, there is great potential for efficiency improvements, and an energy overhaul may not be a tough sell in the era of triple-digit oil. Suozzi hopes the program—which runs through Earth Day, April 15—

will enlist about 5,000 households and shrink Levittown's carbon footprint 20%. But the real benefit may be even greater. "There is nothing more Middle America than Levittown," says Stan Bratskeir, a public relations executive who co-organized the program with Suozzi. "If we can demonstrate this here, we can do it anywhere."

Greening house by house is already catching on—the U.S. Green Building Council (USGBC) extended its Leadership in Energy and Design (LEED) rating system to residences to meet

the interest in more environmentally friendly homes. But the next steps will be tougher. The sprawl of the suburbs has ensured that much of the energy we consume—and carbon we emit—comes from our dependence on cars. Until we change the layout of our neighborhoods—reversing the suburban ideal of semi-isolated homes—living green won't be easy. "Having a green neighborhood and a green home are two different things," says Michelle Moore, a vice president at USGBC.

As it happens, USGBC recently launched LEED-

Neighborhood Development, a new rating system that evaluates how the layout of a development has an impact on the environment. Green features on individual homes will count, but so will designing a neighborhood dense enough to make walking to the office or store a simple task, not an epic journey. "The building is a piece," says Douglas Farr, a Chicago-based architect who helped design the rating system. But "it's part of a bigger system." Making the suburbs truly green will take a construction revolution every bit as sweeping as the one that created Levittown out of thin air six decades ago.



The Plan. A three-step program for change

ENERGY AUDITS Residents will be able to schedule inspections at a reduced price to identify easy energy improvements

OVERHAULING APPLIANCES Money for upgrades to more efficient products will be made available through low-interest loans offered by a local credit union

GOING SOLAR One of the program's sponsors will offer solar thermal installations, which harness the sun's energy for heating and hot water



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E85 ETHANOL



HYBRID



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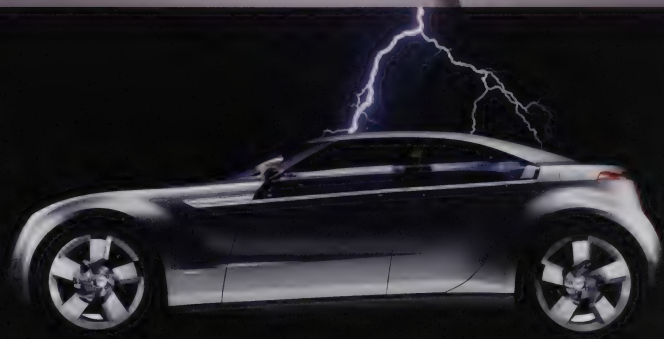
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Concept Chevy Volt shown. Not available for sale.


*E85 ethanol is 85% ethanol, 15% gasoline. To see if there is a station near you go to www.e85.com. **Estimate only shown battery. Actual range may vary depending on driving habits and conditions. Vehicle features and performance capabilities subject to change without notice. *E-estimates based on EPA drive-cycle data. For more information, go to www.chevy.com. Buckle up, America!



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Arts



CULTURE BOOKS DOWNTIME

CULTURE

Apocalypse New.

From *The Road* to *I Am Legend* to *Clash of Kings*: why we can't wait for the end of the world

By Dave Karger

IN 1824, MARY SHELLEY, FAMOUS NOW (and even then) as the author of *Frankenstein*, was casting about for a new idea for a novel. She was in emotional straits. She had already buried three children before her husband, the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, drowned in 1822. Their friend Lord Byron had just died in Greece. She felt as if everyone she knew—the age itself in which she lived—was passing away around her.

So her imagination ran forward to the late 21st century. Greece and Turkey are at war. The last King of England has abdicated. A virulent plague is scouring the earth of humanity, but our hero, a disaffected nobleman, is strangely immune to the disease. The end of the book finds him climbing the dome of a deserted St. Peter's in Rome—a dog his only companion, the last human being left alive on the planet. Shelley called the book *The Last Man*.

The Last Man is no *Frankenstein*. It's overly long and almost unreadably dull. But like *Frankenstein*, it's a founding work in what has proved to be a surprisingly durable genre. It's true what the movie poster says: THE LAST MAN ON EARTH IS NOT ALONE. The joint is crawling with last men. Will Smith in *I Am Legend*. The nameless hero of Cormac McCarthy's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Road*, an Oprah pick last year. Yorick from the hit comic book *Y: The Last Man* (which publishes its 60th and last issue at the end of this month), who survives a plague that kills only men—the women are fine. Even Disney is doing it: *Wall-E*, a Pixar film that opens in June, is about the last robot on an empty, trash-strewn future earth. "The idea of being the last person on earth is pretty universal," says Francis Lawrence, who directed *I Am Legend*. "There's not anybody who hasn't imagined it, either as wish fulfillment or nightmare."

Of course, to be the last man, you have to make it through the apocalypse. TV's *Jericho* and *Battlestar Galactica* are about bands of survivors (of nukes and Cylons, respectively). The video game *Half-Life 2* is set on an earth conquered and picked over by alien invaders (you play a resistance fighter). And then there's *Cloverfield*, which opened on Jan. 18 and follows a group of unsuspecting partygoers on the night a massive beast attacks New York City. (See review, page 115.)

With apologies to Al Gore, the end of the world is hot. What's behind our appetite for the apocalypse? Is it a way of confronting deep-seated, species-wide fear? Or is it something more—might there be something about the end of the world that we just can't wait for?

Granted, it's rarely been out of fashion. The apocalypse probably seeped into West-

'There is a secret longing that people have, saying "Let's give it up. What a mess we've made just by being alive." We've redefined original sin.'

—ALAN WEISMAN, AUTHOR OF
THE WORLD WITHOUT US

ern thought via the Book of Daniel, with its ro-horned beast devouring the world, and the Book of Revelation's four grim horsemen. Shelley was among the first major writers to convert the tale into a secular narrative, with no beast, but far from the last. It was taken up by, among others, T.S. Eliot, whose "The Hollow Men" ends with the famous lines "This is the way the world ends/Not with a bang but a whimper."

Of course, Eliot was writing metaphorically about a culture that he felt was exhausted and dying, but with the advent of the atom bomb, the end of the world got a lot more literal. (Eliot later confessed that he wouldn't have written the same lines after the coming of the H-bomb.) One of the cultural aftershocks of the bombing of Hiroshima was the awakening of *Godzilla* and the Japanese monster movie as a way of reckoning with the nightmare of U.S. atomic weapons. "Stories in which the destruction of society occurs are explorations of social fears," says J.J. Abrams, creator of *Felicity*, *Alias* and *Lost* and producer of *Cloverfield*. "When *Godzilla* came out, the idea of doing a movie about the destruction of a city because of a radioactive man made

thing must have had a similar feeling. On the one hand, it's a silly man in a rubber suit. On the other hand, it's a way to process these fears that are mostly bottled up."

And what fears are we currently bottling up? In one of the great ironies of 21st century culture to date, the U.S. has now imported the Japanese monster movie—created in response to their fear of us—as a way of dealing with our own fears, starting with the attacks of Sept. 11. The result is *Cloverfield*.

The movie is shot in the same shaky-cam, amateur-videostyle as *The Blair Witch Project*, and like *Blair Witch*, it has a star-free cast. The film purports to be a record of what happens to a group of average twenty-somethings on the night a massive creature attacks New York City. It features shrieking, running, cleavage, the severed head of the Statue of Liberty (a nod to two postapocalyptic classics at once, *Planet of the Apes* and *Escape from New York*) and a giant monster (the number of horns wasn't available at press time) shouldering its way between skyscrapers. But the most indelible images are of clouds of pale dust billowing down city streets and shredded copy papers sifting down out of the sky in eerie silence, images that instantly evoke the 9/11 attacks. "With *Cloverfield*, we were trying to create a film that would be entertaining and, as a by-product of the subject matter, perhaps be a catharsis," Abrams says. "We wanted to let people live through their wildest fears but be in a safe place, where the enemy is the size of a skyscraper instead of some stateless, unseen cowardly terrorist."

Much of *Cloverfield*'s visceral force



Creature discomforts One of Cloverfield's heroines gets caught in the cross fire

comes from its use of handheld cameras. By the time *Blair Witch* was made, unstabilized amateur footage was already visual shorthand for disaster, the vernacular of the apocalypse—think of the Zapruder film or the footage of Rodney King being beaten. And that was long before Sept. 11 and YouTube. Grainy, unstabilized footage gives us a sense that what we're watching is real—that the hand brake is off, that we won't be protected by the bland, safe conventions of a studio movie. "I felt like there had to be a way to do a monster movie that's updated and fresh," says Abrams. "So we came up with the YouTubification of things, the ubiquity of video cameras, cell phones with cameras. There are hundreds of incidents and images out of Iraq on handheld video that are horrifying. All of those images we considered because they show the way things actually look."

After the beast is through with us, what then? The postapocalypse comes in two varieties: the sterile kind, which leaves behind a dead desert, and the fertile kind, in which destruction makes room for new life and nature gloriously reclaims a human-free earth. In *The Road*, McCarthy—following Eliot and *Mad Max*—imagines an earth from which every cell of nonhuman life has been burned. It's a vivid fantasy, but it's not the most plausible scenario. Alan Weisman's *The World Without Us*, a sleeper hit last year, is a carefully researched look at what a depopulated earth would really be like. It turns out to be not all bad.

Plants would crack and pulverize cities and highways. Moose and wolves would return, and the forest would become dense again. Reading *The World Without Us*, you want to cheer at the springy resilience with which the earth bounces back from the damage humans inflicted on it. Global warming is our newest and most cherished apocalypse, but even the atmosphere will eventually rebalance itself, more or less. "I wanted to write a book that was intentionally not apocalyptic," says Weisman, who teaches journalism at the University of Arizona. "Apocalypse means destruction, and the whole world ends. In my book, I show how beautiful things could get—and how quickly—if we weren't around. How things revert to wilderness, almost like the Garden of Eden." (The History Channel's *Life After People*, which airs Jan. 21, has essentially the same premise.)

Weisman's book gets at the paradox of the apocalypse, which is that it's weirdly seductive. Watching Smith in *I Am Legend* as he romps through a Manhattan blessedly free of people, you try to remember that he's supposed to be mourning the death of humanity, but it's damned hard. He's playing golf and driving a sports car.

Pop Goes the World Apocalyptic visions are all around us



MOVIES In *I Am Legend*, a genetically modified virus kills most humans and changes others into deranged, vampire-like monsters. Will Smith remains handsome



VIDEO GAMES We fought the aliens, and the aliens won. Now, in *Half-Life 2*, you play an insurgent on an alien-ruled earth



BOOKS Cormac McCarthy's *The Road* is a postnuclear novel; Alan Weisman's *The World Without Us* details what it might really be like



COMICS Brian K. Vaughan's *Y: The Last Man* is the story of the last lucky (?) man alive in a world of women



TV SHOWS The good and not-so-good people of Jericho, Kans., carry on after a nuclear strike cripples the U.S. in *Jericho*



MUSIC Nine Inch Nails' concept album *Year Zero* is set in 2022, a time of nuclear winter and no freedom

He's picking corn and hunting deer—he's eating locally! The apocalypse is an epic tragedy, but it's also a fantasy of cleansing and regeneration wherein everything essential and inauthentic is swept away so that we can build afresh among the ruins. It's a convenient untruth. "I've been struck by the number of New Yorkers who have actually said to me, 'God, it was so much fun watching the city fall apart like that,'" says Weisman. "There is on some level a secret longing that people have, saying 'Let's just give it up. What a mess we've made

just by being alive.' We all have this foot print now. We've redefined original sin."

We won't reveal what kind of apocalypse the beast in *Cloverfield* brings, whether it leaves behind a charred, crispy earth or a moist green one or whether it just—no fair!—succumbs to old-fashioned human military might. But there's a part of each of us that is rooting for the monster and that would be glad to see us go. Because we know there's a little beast in us too. —REPORTED BY AMY LENNARD GOEHNER AND REBECCA WINTERS KEAGAN/LOS ANGELES ■

Still kicking
"Creativity is
a road out of
misery," says
King of his work



BOOKS

King's New Realm. He's moved to Florida part-time. Can the horror writer put a chilly spin on the Sunshine State?

BY GILBERT CRUZ

FOR A TIME, IT LOOKED AS IF STEPHEN King would never reach retirement age. Nine years ago, a pickup truck slammed into him on the side of a Maine road. One of his legs shattered, a lung collapsed, several ribs broke and his hip fractured. A few years later, after developing a severe case of pneumonia, the king of chills decided to embrace warmth. "It's the law," he jokes from his part-time home on the Gulf Coast. "You get a little bit older, and you have to move to Florida." So, in one of the rare cliché moments of his life, King, 60, and his wife Tabitha flew south for the winter.

Duma Key, his first novel set in Florida, inevitably followed. Named after a fictional reef, it concerns Edgar Freemantle, a wealthy man who loses his right arm in a construction accident and moves to a lonely island that seems to grant him the power to paint surreal, sometimes

premonitory images. At its core, the book is about creativity and its relationship to physical and mental healing—King's continuing attempt to address his own mortality years after his near death.

But with its sun-blasted beaches and tranquil coastlines, what could possibly be frightening about Florida? "The actual environment down here is a bit scary in that everything grows everywhere all the time," King says. "I don't think it's any accident that when I had the idea for the book, I was walking down the side of a road, it was getting dark, and I was literally



'I certainly don't want to use my fiction to psychoanalyze myself.'

—STEPHEN KING

entombed in foliage—big rhododendron bushes, like 20 feet high."

So has he abandoned his home turf? "I've written all these books about Maine simply because it's what I know," he says. And he didn't know the Gulf Coast, which is why it took him almost a decade to write about it. "You have to know where the roads go and what the names of the plants are," he says. Hence his self-imposed literary exile from Maine streets. "I thought, if you're going to make a break, why not make a complete break?"

Duma, with its maimed painter, follows *Lisey's Story*, his 2006 literary novel about a writer's widow. And while both books are concerned with the death or near death of an artist, King brushes aside the idea that any of it is autobiographical. He's already done that. "When I wrote about my accident in [2000's] *On Writing*, I wrote about something that actually happened," he says. "With some of these later books, I'm trying to write about what it means, how that kind of thing changes a person. I certainly don't want to use my fiction to psychoanalyze myself. I'm not into that kind of public therapy."

Yet it's difficult to ignore the sensation that King is working some things out, especially in the book's early scenes, rife with vivid descriptions of a broken body and a broken mind. "You don't think that kind of pain will pass, but it does," he writes. "Then they ship you home and replace it with the agony of physical rehabilitation." As King remembers his experience, though, "the thing that really terrified me was that my memory for a while became very unreliable." He figures, as he always has with his work, that the things that scare him will scare us. It never hurts, however, to throw in, as he does, dead twin girls. King hopes people will associate these twins with his new book, instead of Stanley Kubrick's version of *The Shining*, which King believes is too emotionally distant.

And for those fans who almost lost their minds when it was reported in 2002 that King would retire, don't worry. King's age and his residence in the Sunshine State are not signs that he's thinking about calling it quits. His next book of short stories, *Unnatural Acts of Intercourse*, will come out this fall or next spring, and he's working on a "novel that's going to be very long. I'll be killing a lot of trees if it gets done." Still, he's pretty clear-eyed about his new life. "I think [Florida is] where pop novelists go to die, in a way," he says. "It does feel a little like retirement now, but why not? I'm 60 now, so I can kick back a little bit. Sixty's the new 50, and dead is the new alive." ■

Downtime



5 Things You Should Know About. Working women go bad, a chemistry teacher is sad, and Sinatra plays mad



DVD

John Frankenheimer Collection Available Jan. 22

He was a director of live TV drama in the 1950s and brought that think-fast immediacy to the big screen in some terrific social melodramas: *The Young Savages*, *The Train* and that incomparable political tragicomedy *The Manchurian Candidate*, starring Frank Sinatra. A generation later he made the smart caper film *Ronin*. All four are in this boxed set. **A-**



TELEVISION

Breaking Bad AMC, Sundays, 10 p.m. E.T.

Walt White (Bryan Cranston) is a chemistry teacher with a biology problem—terminal cancer—who schemes to provide for his family by cooking crystal meth. It's an uneven Coen Brothers–like mix of dark comedy and darker moral drama, but Cranston is amazing as a desperate, conflicted gangsta-nerd. *Bad* has the elements of success. **B+**



MOVIES

4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days Written and directed by Cristian Mungiu; unrated; opens Jan. 25

In U.S. movies (*Knocked Up*, *Waitress*, *Junjo*), unwanted pregnancy is the key to romance and self-knowledge. In this Romanian chiller, it leads to illegal abortion and nightmare plot twists. Taut and haunting, with some scary-good performances, *4 Months* won the top prize at Cannes last year, and deservedly so. The film is tough to watch but must be seen. **A-**



Mad Money Directed by Callie Khouri; screenplay by Glenn Gers; rated PG-13; out now

Three cash-poor women (Diane Keaton, Queen Latifah, Katie Holmes) try to pull a heist at their workplace: a Federal Reserve bank. In this O.K. femme-trio comedy, avarice replaces the gender revenge of *9 to 5* and *The First Wives Club*. The film raises an all-American issue—When does need morph into greed?—then runs like hell away from it. **C+**



THEATER

The Little Mermaid Directed by Francesca Zambello; Broadway's Lunt-Fontanne Theatre

Another Disney musical? You sigh; the critics hoot. But the lovely Hans Christian Andersen tale is augmented by one of Alan Menken's best scores (updated with several new songs) and a ravishing, inventive production by opera director Zambello, making this stage version of the 1989 animated hit possibly Disney's best since *The Lion King*. **B+**



SPOILER REVIEW

The Blair Witch Reject

THE MOST CLEVERLY hyped horror film since *Snakes on a Plane*, producer J.J. Abrams' **CLOVERFIELD** tantalized fanboys with shots of panic in lower Manhattan, seemingly camcorder, and just the hint of a giant monster. Now folks can see what all the screaming was about: not much.

The movie, shot as if by an amateur videographer, imagines a young man's farewell party interrupted by 9/11-ish booms and fires. Soon the head of the decapitated Statue of Liberty lands on a downtown street. Terrorists again? No, an American Godzilla with *Alien* teeth and a cranky disposition.

The creature, glimpsed too furtively till the end, is skinny and reptilian. The film's one inspiration is that the beast sheds parasites: dog-size, crablike scurriers that come out of nowhere, attacking the humans you're supposed to care about.

The plot sends its hero on a quest to save his ex-girlfriend. That's meant to fill an emotional core, but it's more the excuse for a trip through the old dark house of postapocalyptic New York City. Abrams, writer Drew Goddard and director Matt Reeves had fun exploiting the worst-case scenario of sci-fi (what if everybody died?). But *Cloverfield* is what it aims to be: scary junk for Friday night at the movies.

—BY RICHARD CORLISS

Cool Running

It's a miracle that double amputee Oscar Pistorius can compete. Is it also unfair?

BY NANCY GIBBS

IT WAS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THE CHALLENGE of Oscar Pistorius would run headlong into our cherished notions of what's equal, what's fair and what's the difference between the two.

Democracy presumes that we're all created equal; competition proves we are not, or else every race would end in a tie. We talk about a level playing field because it's the least we can do in the face of nature's injustice. Some people are born strong or stretchy, or with a tungsten will. But Pistorius' advantage comes from what nature left out and technology replaced: his body ends at the knees, and from there to the ground it's a moral puzzle.

Born in South Africa without major bones in his legs and feet, he had his lower legs amputated before he was a year old. As he grew up, so did the science of prosthetics. Now 21, Pistorius runs on carbon-fiber blades known as Cheetahs. He won gold in the 200 m at the Athens Paralympics in 2004, breaking 22 sec.; but now his eye is on the Olympics in Beijing. It was up to the world body that governs track and field, the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF), to determine whether using Cheetahs is cheating.

A runner's stride is not perfectly efficient. Ankles waste energy—much more, it turns out, than Pistorius' J-shaped blades. He can run just as fast using less oxygen than his competitors (one describes the sound Pistorius makes as like being chased by a giant pair of scissors). On Jan. 14, following the findings of the researcher who evaluated him, the IAAF disqualified Pistorius from Olympic competition. He is expected to appeal, arguing that the science of advantage is not that simple. Tom Hanks is interested in his life story. No matter what happens next, Pistorius is changing the nature of the games we play.

Our intuition tells us there's a difference between innate advantages and acquired ones. A swimmer born with webbed hands might have an edge, but a swimmer who had skin grafts to turn feet into flippers would pose a problem. Elite sport is unkind to the human body; high school linemen bulk up to an extent that may help the team but wreck their knees. What about the tall girl who wants her doctor to prescribe human growth hormone because her coach said three more inches of height would guarantee her that volleyball scholarship: Unfair, or just unwise? Where exactly

is the boundary between dedication and deformity?

Imagine if Pistorius' blades made him exactly as biomechanically efficient as a normal runner. What should be the baseline: Normal for the average man? Or for the average Olympian? Cyclist Lance Armstrong was born with a heart and lungs that can make a mountain feel flat; he also trained harder than anyone on the planet. Where's the unfair advantage? George Eyser's wooden leg didn't stop him from winning six Olympic gymnastics medals, including in the parallel bars. But that was 1904; legs have improved since then.

The questions are worth asking because in them lies not just the future of our sports but of ourselves. Why should nature be allowed to play favorites but not parents? Science will soon deliver unto us all sorts of novel ways of redesigning our offspring or re-engineering

ourselves that test what we mean by *human*. The fight over doping in baseball will seem quaint one day when players can dope not with drugs but with genes. Already there is black-market interest in therapies developed to treat muscular dystrophy but which could potentially be used to build superstrong athletes.

But there is no honor in shortcuts. Today's dopers are like Rosie Ruiz's winning the marathon in 1980—because she took the subway. Are Pistorius' blades the equivalent



Out of line The IAAF ruled that his blades work too well

of his attaching wheels to his running shoes? "We end up with these subtle, fascinating debates about what the meaning of competition is, and endless debate over where to draw the line," says Tom Murray, president of the Hastings Center, a bioethics think tank. "Don't underestimate how difficult it will be to evaluate all the technologies that are likely to filter into sport."

We honor heroes—in sports as in life—for grace and guts as well as natural gifts. When something comes easily, it's easy not to work at it, like the bright kid who coasts through class: talent taps persistence on the shoulder, says, "You're not needed here. But put the two together, Tiger Woods' easy power and ferocious discipline—and he makes history. There's some sweet irony in the fact that before Pistorius came along, there was no need for the rules that now ban him. Only when the disabled runner challenged the able-bodied ones did officials institute a rule against springs and wheels and any artificial aids to running. That's a testimony to technology, but it is also a tribute to the sheer nerve and fierce will that got him to the starting line in the first place. ■

Lunesta[®]

(eszopiclone)
1, 2 AND 3 MG TABLETS

Please read this summary of information about LUNESTA before you take your first dose or start using LUNESTA. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about LUNESTA tablets, be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

LUNESTA is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as difficulty in falling asleep, difficulty in maintaining sleep during the night, and waking up too early in the morning. Most people with insomnia have more than one of these problems. You should take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed because of the risk of falling.

LUNESTA belongs to a group of medicines known as "hypnotics" or, simply, sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent. It usually requires treatment for only a short time, usually 7 to 10 days up to 2 weeks. If your insomnia does not improve after 7 to 10 days of treatment, see your doctor, because it may be a sign of an underlying condition. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

Side Effects

All medicines have side effects. The most common side effects of sleep medicines are:

- Drowsiness
- Dizziness
- Lightheadedness
- Difficulty with coordination

Sleep medicines can make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of LUNESTA that is best for you. Some people taking LUNESTA have reported next-day sleepiness.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- Do not drink alcohol when you are taking LUNESTA or any sleep medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking LUNESTA.
- Always take the exact dose of LUNESTA prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

Special Concerns

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

Memory Problems

Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine. Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia." Memory problems have been reported rarely by patients taking LUNESTA in clinical studies. In most cases, memory problems can be avoided if

you take LUNESTA only when you are able to get a full night of sleep before you need to be active again. Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems.

Tolerance

When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness in helping you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Development of tolerance to LUNESTA was not observed in a clinical study of 6 months' duration. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent, and prolonged use of sleep medicines is generally not necessary. Some people, though, have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

Dependence

Sleep medicines can cause dependence in some people, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Dependence is the need to continue taking a medicine because stopping it is unpleasant.

When people develop dependence, stopping the medicine suddenly may cause unpleasant symptoms (see *Withdrawal* below). They may find they have to keep taking the medicine either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawal symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks. If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting LUNESTA or any sleep medicine.

Withdrawal

Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two. In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and, rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon. Although withdrawal symptoms have not been observed in the relatively limited controlled trials experience with LUNESTA, there is, nevertheless, the risk of such events in association with the use of any sleep medicine.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

Changes in Behavior And Thinking

Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- More outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- Confusion
- Strange behavior
- Agitation
- Hallucinations
- Worsening of depression
- Suicidal thoughts

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used. Clinical experience with LUNESTA suggests that it is rarely associated with these behavior changes.

It is also important to realize it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, are caused by an illness, or have occurred on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to illnesses that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice

any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

Pregnancy And Breastfeeding

Sleep medicines may cause sedation or other potential effects in the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking LUNESTA.

In addition, a very small amount of LUNESTA may be present in breast milk after use of the medication. The effects of very small amounts of LUNESTA on an infant are not known; therefore, as with all other prescription sleep medicines, it is recommended that you not take LUNESTA if you are breastfeeding a baby.

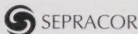
Safe Use Of Sleep Medicines

To ensure the safe and effective use of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:


1. LUNESTA is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take LUNESTA.
2. Never use LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
3. If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
4. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription and herbal preparations. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. DO NOT use alcohol while taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
5. Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get 8 or more hours of sleep before you must be active again.
6. Do not increase the prescribed dose of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
7. When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
8. Be aware that you may have more sleeping problems the first night or two after stopping any sleep medicine.
9. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, if you become pregnant, or if you are breastfeeding a baby while taking LUNESTA.
10. As with all prescription medicines, never share LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine in the original container and out of reach of children.
11. Be sure to tell your doctor if you suffer from depression.
12. LUNESTA works very quickly. You should only take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed.
13. For LUNESTA to work best, you should not take it with or immediately after a high-fat, heavy meal.
14. Some people, such as older adults (i.e., ages 65 and over) and people with liver disease, should start with the lower dose (1 mg) of LUNESTA. Your doctor may choose to start therapy at 2 mg. In general, adults under age 65 should be treated with 2 or 3 mg.
15. Each tablet is a single dose; do not crush or break the tablet.

Note: This summary provides important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist to let you read the Prescribing Information and then discuss it with him or her.

Rx only



WHEN WAS THE LAST TIME YOU SLEPT LIKE THIS?

A close-up, profile view of a man with dark, curly hair sleeping peacefully on a white pillow. A small, vibrant green butterfly with orange and black markings is perched on his forehead. The lighting is soft and warm, creating a serene atmosphere.

Tossing. Turning. Haven't you had enough? LUNESTA can help give you the full satisfying 7-8 hours of sleep you're missing. The kind of sleep that leaves you refreshed, rested, and ready to start your day. And LUNESTA has always been non-narcotic. Find out how to improve your sleep habits at lunesta.com.

Or call 1-800-LUNESTA. LUNESTA is by prescription only.

Lunesta
eszopiclone
1.2 AND 3 MG TABLETS

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION: LUNESTA helps you fall asleep quickly, so take it right before bed. Be sure you have at least eight hours to devote to sleep before becoming active. Until you know how you'll react to LUNESTA, you should not drive or operate machinery. Do not take LUNESTA with alcohol. Call your doctor right away if after taking LUNESTA you walk, drive, eat or engage in other activities while asleep. In rare cases severe allergic reactions can occur. Most sleep medicines carry some risk of dependency. Side effects may include unpleasant taste, headache, drowsiness and dizziness. See important patient information on the next page.

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